

## INFORMATION TO USERS

This was produced from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure you of complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark it is an indication that the film inspector noticed either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, or duplicate copy. Unless we meant to delete copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed, you will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed the photographer has followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For any illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and tipped into your xerographic copy. Requests can be made to our Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases we have filmed the best available copy.

**University  
Microfilms  
International**

300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106  
18 BEDFORD ROW, LONDON WC1R 4EJ, ENGLAND

8116259

JOSEPH, JOHN EARL

THE STANDARD LANGUAGE: THEORY, DOGMA, AND  
SOCIOCULTURAL REALITY

*The University of Michigan*

PH.D. 1981

University  
Microfilms  
International! 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Copyright 1980

by

Joseph, John Earl

All Rights Reserved

Divina natura dedit agros,  
ars humana aedificavit urbes.

-- Varro

THE STANDARD LANGUAGE:  
THEORY, DOGMA, AND SOCIOCULTURAL REALITY

by  
John Earl Joseph

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
(Romance Languages and Literatures: Romance Linguistics)  
in The University of Michigan  
1981

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Ernst Pulgram, Chairman  
Associate Professor Madhav Deshpande  
Assistant Professor Steven N. Dworkin  
Associate Professor Clifford S. Leonard, Jr.  
Professor Raleigh Morgan, Jr.

RULES REGARDING THE USE OF  
MICROFILMED DISSERTATIONS

Microfilmed or bound copies of doctoral dissertations submitted to The University of Michigan and made available through University Microfilms International or The University of Michigan are open for inspection, but they are to be used only with due regard for the rights of the author. Extensive copying of the dissertation or publication of material in excess of standard copyright limits, whether or not the dissertation has been copyrighted, must have been approved by the author as well as by the Dean of the Graduate School. Proper credit must be given to the author if any material from the dissertation is used in subsequent written or published work.

To my parents, John and Glenlyn Joseph,  
for twenty-three years and eleven months  
of unlimited love and support.

## PREFACE

Language standardization and Romance linguistics are complementary fields of inquiry, and the Romanist's claim to expertise in standard language studies is unrivalled. He alone has a thorough grounding in the crucial role played by Latin and the Romance vernaculars in the birth of Western civilization. He alone has studied in depth the linguistic situations of France, Spain, and Portugal -- the three most prominent nations of the colonial era, when the West imposed its ways upon the world. He alone appreciates the great linguistic diversity and unity of Italy, and can comprehend the theoretical musings of Dante in this light. Add to these the history of standardization in Rumania, Catalonia, and Provence, and practically the entire range is covered. Examining sociolinguistic situations the world over, the Romanist will find little that strikes him as unfamiliar, little he has not encountered somewhere in his specialized studies. Yet only by taking in the broader perspective can he appreciate the true nature and significance of the Romance developments.

In this book I examine the process by which one dialect emerges as basis of the standard, and the subsequent series of changes in function, form, and status to which it is subjected. My scope is not restricted to the Romance family; it is limited only by the breadth of the area studies that are my source material. By no means do I claim that standardization occurs in any identical, 'universal' fashion with every language. Rather, I present those facets that are indeed common to the vast majority of cases, and attempt to account for the outstanding exceptions.

Where my work fails to be comprehensive, I hope that in recompense it may be seminal.

The amount of aid and kindness furnished me by friends, colleagues, and teachers (the three categories are not mutually exclusive) has been utterly beyond belief. Certain persons must be acknowledged individually:

The members of my doctoral committee, Professors Ernst Pulgram (chairman), Madhav Deshpande, Steven Dworkin, Clifford Leonard, and Raleigh Morgan, all of the University of Michigan. Each gave generously of his time, encouragement, and advice, far in excess of official duty.

The students of the Romance linguistics section, friends and worthy colleagues all. Linda Rapp, Thomas Stephens, Thomas Albin, and France Mugler provided particularly crucial assistance by their expert proofreading at various stages of the writing.

Professors Arthur Brakel, Frank Casa, Ali Mazrui, and Helene Neu of the University of Michigan; Herbert Izzo of the University of Calgary; and Richard Wood of Southeast Missouri State University; each of whom furnished invaluable aid of one form or another.

The members of my family, who endured patiently. And above all, Mary Bacarella, who never shirked when the cry of distress was sounded.

To all of you, my most heartfelt thanks! Your help will never be forgotten. My shortcomings are my own; any success I should ever have would be yours.

Ann Arbor

September, 1980

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION . . . . . ii

PREFACE . . . . . iii

CHAPTER ONE: CONFORMITY, PRESTIGE, AND THE STANDARD LANGUAGE:  
AN INTRODUCTION . . . . . 1

    1.1. Natural forces

    1.2. Psychological phenomena

    1.3. Standards and standardization

    1.4. Pragmatic considerations

    1.5. The standard language as a central social concern

CHAPTER TWO: CIVILIZATION, DIGLOSSIA, ACCULTURATION . . . . . 15

    2.1. Civilization and standardization

    2.2. Background to standardization: Western culture

    2.3. Acculturation via diglossia

    2.4. Expansion of loyalties and lines of contact

CHAPTER THREE: LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION AND 'SYNECDOCHE' . . . . . 41

    3.1. Dialect and language

    3.2. Other levels of classification

    3.3. The idiolectal continuum

    3.4. Synecdoche

CHAPTER FOUR: EMERGENCE OF THE SYNECDOCHIC DIALECT . . . . . 62

    4.1. Selection of the dialect

    4.2. Circumstantial and engineered emergence

    4.3. Synecdoche and 'reduced' systems

CHAPTER FIVE: CHANGES IN FUNCTION . . . . . 81

    5.1. Emergence, function, and form

    5.2. Functions gained and lost

    5.3. Wider communication

    5.4. Ideologization

    5.5. Technology and education

    5.6. Codification

    5.7. Writing

CHAPTER SIX: CHANGES IN FORM: ELABORATION . . . . .	123
6.1. The creation of inadequacy	
6.2. Diglossia and the mechanism of elaboration	
6.3. The creation of adequacy	
6.4. Elaboration and language structure	
6.5. Remedial and cosmetic elaboration	
CHAPTER SEVEN: CHANGES IN FORM: CONTROL . . . . .	165
7.1. Eloquence versus efficiency	
7.2. Limitation and hierarchization	
7.3. The controllers	
7.4. The criteria of control	
7.5. Control and language structure	
7.6. Variation in the standard	
7.7. Locality and non-locality	
CHAPTER EIGHT: CHANGES IN STATUS . . . . .	218
8.1. Absolute and relative standards	
8.2. The new diglossia	
8.3. Analogies and digressions	
CHAPTER NINE: STANDARDIZATION AND RESTANDARDIZATION IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE . . . . .	237
9.1. From <u>francien</u> to <u>françois</u>	
9.2. Elaboration begins	
9.3. Early countertendencies to the 'age of <u>illustration</u> '	
9.4. The tide turns: control takes hold	
9.5. From control to classicism	
REFERENCES . . . . .	285

CHAPTER ONE: CONFORMITY, PRESTIGE, AND THE STANDARD LANGUAGE:  
AN INTRODUCTION

1.1. Natural forces

The basic human drive to conform is closely matched in strength by the desire for non-conformist individuality.

This paradox is crucial to an understanding of language use and language attitudes. Deeper consideration reveals that conformity and its opposite are not primary but secondary drives, deriving from other, more fundamental human exigencies. Food, procreation, shelter from the hazards of the environment and from creatures who would have us as their food -- these are needs genetically encoded by the process of natural selection. Beings whose genes do not convey the information eat will not live long enough to reproduce; hence such self-destructive DNA complexes are not propagated. Genes failing to signal the sex urge obviously encounter the same fate. Natural selection is itself a process of standardization:

Living organisms do not form a continuum, an imperceptible merging of species into species. The Maryland yellowthroat is unique among birds, the porpoise among mammals, the coral snake among reptiles. Each has distinctive characteristics, passed on from generation to generation. The atoms of each element are like each other, different from other atoms.<sup>1</sup>

Those of us whose genetic heritage induces us to seek food, sex, and shelter spend most of our waking hours doing just that,<sup>2</sup> and can scarcely concern ourselves with anything else until the primary needs are satisfied. Our manner of conducting the quest may also be subject to standardization:

'Standards' also means agreements or practices. Bees build honeycombs to a precise standard. The oriole's nest is distinctive. Many living things have mating rituals, warning cries, recognition signs and hunting tactics.<sup>3</sup>

Man has all four; their nature, frequency, and importance vary from culture to culture. In general, the more highly civilized the society, the more 'symbolicized' -- that is, abstracted, removed from the physical reality of the need itself -- are its rituals, cries, signs, and tactics. Yet no matter how symbolic these behavior patterns become, natural selection sees to it that the members of a given community perform them according to a common pattern. Those who deviate from the mating rituals of the group do not reproduce, and those who fail to conform to the others' warning cries, recognition signs, or hunting tactics may well be killed before they have a chance to mate. Standardization is always the rule.

The cries of even the most primitive human groups take on abstract significations and become language. Combinations of signal and referent are known and accepted by each functioning member of the community. Thus, all 'language' is, by definition, 'standardized' semantically. 'Unstandardized' signalling is gibberish.

It might seem, then, that Nature is all on the side of convergence and uniformity, and that Man's powerful proclivity not to conform, his insistence on individuality, is somehow unnatural or counter-natural. Yet nature contains an infinite variety of creatures and things. They are consistent within their species; but how many species there are! Every color, shape, texture represents a differentiation from the molten rock that constituted the primordial earth.

Natural selection also helps explain the diversity of living organisms. While genetic mutations usually lessen a creature's chances to survive and reproduce (if only by rendering it different in appearance or conduct from its fellows), occasionally a mutant proves better adapted to the environment and functionally superior to the norm. Such creatures may survive, prosper, and pass on their advantageous traits to descendants whose own genetic accidents may in time provide further refinements.

Homo sapiens is the outcome of several million years' accumulation of occasional mutations and adaptations -- a legacy of innovation that is reflected in his behavior. Faced with an external challenge, he may alter his customary habits to such an extent that, not only is the adversity overcome, but in the process his control over the environment, hence also his way of life, are drastically improved. This, according to one theory, is the normal mechanism of progress and civilization.<sup>4</sup>

Innovations are not produced en masse, but by individuals. This is a facet of the conformity/non-conformity paradox presented in the opening paragraph. We survive as a species, a race, a nation, a community through esprit de corps; we keep up and move forward through individual invention. The struggle to maintain the essential balance between the two dominates much of human history:

To progress, to change, is to depart from an old standard, and there is a conflict between innovation and standardization. The conservative clings to an established standard that has stood the test of time, the customary way, the traditional. The innovator is thought of as a radical, an enemy of standardization.<sup>5</sup>

Yet the two points of view do not stand in direct opposition; they are always interwoven. What are today's standards and traditions

but yesterday's innovations?<sup>6</sup> What distinguishes a true innovation from a mere novelty but subsequent long-term adoption by many people? 'An innovation is successful,' notes Perry, 'only when it has become a new standard.'<sup>7</sup>

I am not asserting that standards of behavior or the motives for obeying and disobeying them are genetically rooted in the human psyche as a result of natural selection; nor that they are simply independent responses to similar but unconnected stimuli. A rehearsal of the behaviorist controversy would be out of place here. Let the following suffice. We need to adapt to a standard, we do adapt; our adaptation is not impeded by the fact that we continue the genetic lineage of those who, through the ages, have succeeded in adapting. However, only physical and mental capability can be inherited -- to what degree and in what manner one employs that capability is determined by the vicissitudes of environment.

## 1.2. Psychological phenomena

The picture I have presented so far is an illusion. It counterfeits the perspective of a detached observer gazing down from a nearby planet. The locus of human history -- both in the making and in the recording -- is the human mind.

Without entering into deeper philosophical considerations of thought and reality, I shall simply point out that man's perception of the world may be just as important or even more important than any extra-sensory 'real' existence the world might have. This applies, within limits, to the human drives and desires discussed above. The limits, of course, are the needs which I termed 'primary'. No matter

how strongly a man believes food is unnecessary to life, he will starve. No matter how strongly a society believes in virgin birth, sexual abstinence will lead to extinction.

In other, less vital areas of behavior, however, what seems best or most desirable or most significant to the observer from Venus does not necessarily seem so to the man under observation. Two phenomena in particular strongly affect human actions and reactions. The first is custom or tradition. Often men will refuse to deviate from the behavior patterns learned from the previous generation, even if these patterns lead them directly to doom.

The second phenomenon is prestige, and is somewhat harder to define. The problem is that prestige exists not within the person who possesses it, but in the minds of those with whom he is in contact. The latter consider the prestigious person somehow superior to themselves -- perhaps because he actually does exhibit some attribute (physical strength, intellectual power) or object (the mightiest sword, the largest supply of grain) of innate superiority; but more frequently because of an attribute (beauty, the ability to act or play golf well) or object (gold, silver, mutual bonds) which the society believes to be important (and which therefore is important) even though its intrinsic survival value may be nil.

The basic source of prestige is scarcity. If everyone had an overabundance of strength, if the earth were brimming with gold deposits, no particular attention would be paid to either. A person is prestigious because he has what those around him (in whose minds the prestige exists) cannot get, or can only get with tremendous difficulty.

But prestige does not remain limited to the scarce goods and qualities. Those in contact with the prestigious person may accord prestige to attributes he possesses other than the one by which his prestige was originally earned. If the strongest, smartest, or richest man in town shaves his head, then anyone wishing to increase his own prestige may shave his as well. He may also copy the dress,<sup>8</sup> manners,<sup>9</sup> bearing, and (n.b.) speech of his prestigious model. It is as though he hopes that by assimilating what he can, he may acquire a measure of transferred prestige originally deriving from goods and qualities inaccessible to him. The strange thing is that, unless barriers are expressly put in his way, he has a good chance of success.<sup>10</sup>

### 1.3. Standards and standardization

Clearly, 'prestige' as it applies to speech has not wandered far from the meaning of the Latin etymon, praestigium 'an illusion, a juggler's trick'. A language or dialect acquires prestige as a consequence of the fact that its speakers are (for some non-linguistic reason) prestigious. It may become a standard that other people, seeking to acquire prestige for themselves, will emulate.

This transferral of prestige and heightening of a dialect's status can (but need not) occur within any community, small or large, ancient or modern, primitive or civilized; examples will be cited in the next chapter. If the process does get underway, the subsequent fate of the 'ennobled' dialect will depend upon the structure of the particular culture in which it is spoken.

One possibility is that the culture will put the prestigious dialect to use in specially-reserved functions, often endowed with an

'exclusivity' and a prestige of their own. If the prestige dialect's contextual sphere becomes different from that of other speech, then its subsequent structural development may also diverge from that of other dialects. Changes in form may result from use in new functions.

It is above all in the number, identity, and nature of the exclusive functions that the individual culture determines the fate of the prestige language. Any two cultures -- by virtue of the fact that they are considered two cultures, and not one -- are by definition structurally distinct. While parallels to many aspects of an advanced civilization may be found in primitive cultures, still the differences far outweigh the similarities; *pari passu*, while one may find parallels between the civilized and the uncivilized society's development of a prestige language, the final products are very different entities indeed.

The term standard language normally designates a dialect adapted to serve in the exclusive functions of an advanced civilization. Because of the partial similarities, the term is sometimes applied by extension to the (on the whole very different) case of a lower civilization or uncivilized culture.

The term language standardization designates the process of change in status, function, and form by which a dialect becomes 'standard'. It is less often extended to apply to non-advanced civilizations than is 'standard language'; in fact, 'language standardization' is frequently restricted to the specific shape the process has taken in Western civilization (and subsequently in those other cultures that have assimilated the Western ideal of what constitutes a standard language).<sup>11</sup>

This is not to assert that standardization is a unified process within all of Western civilization, nor that every language undergoes it in precisely the same way. Rather, it represents a limited range of variant processes that are available as possible responses to the unique structure of Western culture.

To a degree, the restricted association of language standardization to Western civilization is justified, since many of the most important functions and vehicles of the modern standard language -- for example, modern science and medicine, mass publication, communications technology -- are creations of the West that have met with universal recognition and acceptance. With them have been exported certain notions about standardization -- its requirements and the proper procedure for satisfying them.

On the other hand, some of the most fundamental elements of Western standardization -- including writing, grammar, and education -- were inherited or borrowed, and exist independently in other cultures. The individual analyst must decide whether it is the parallels or the divergences that are worth emphasizing, and adjust his definition of 'standard language' and 'language standardization' accordingly.

This book is a step toward defining standardization qua facet of Western civilization; not as a unified process, but as a limited range of variant processes; not only as it has developed in the foyer of the West, but as it has been spread (either through colonial rule or simply cultural dominance) to many societies of Asia, Africa -- in fact, throughout most of the 'civilized' world. Besides isolating what is characteristically Western, I shall note the important similarities and differences of corresponding processes in non-Western cultures.

As for the terminology, I would not scruple against, let us say, 'standard Navaho', so long as the status of the dialect in question is roughly what my readers should expect of 'standard x' based on their experience of Standard English, French, Spanish, etc. Nor do I have any quarrel with, for example, 'the standardization of Hittite'. But when the term 'language standardization' is found without further qualification, it may be assumed that I refer to the specific Western phenomenon that is the focus of this study.<sup>12</sup>

With the changes in form underway, the new 'standard language' will be utilizable in a number of important functions -- most of them associated with prestigious individuals -- in which non-standardized dialects are unable to serve.<sup>13</sup> Because of this newly-attained, exclusive, scarce structural capability, the standardized dialect may gain a measure of prestige on its own merit, in addition to that transferred from its prestigious speakers.

Furthermore, not just everyone will be able to use the standard language. Mastery of it is only acquired through study, and a considerable expenditure of time and energy is involved. Such difficulty of assimilation gives the standard additional independently-earned prestige.

These further increases in status may trigger more changes in function, hence in form, hence again in status, and so on in a continuous cycle.

One of the most striking (albeit very indirect) indications of the high degree of prestige ultimately attained by the standard language, it seems to me, is found in the etymological history of the English word glamour. This term for a very special, magical type of prestige

is a doublet of the name of one of language standardization's most potent tools: grammar.

#### 1.4. Pragmatic considerations

The possession of a standard language has practical benefits for a community quite apart from considerations of prestige. It provides a point of reference for linguistic usage. Members of the community are able to measure a given utterance's 'correctness' -- the common interpretation of agreement with the standard. The presence of a clear 'right' and 'wrong' is both convenient and reassuring.<sup>14</sup> Probably more people question the existence of God than doubt the validity of the standard language.

Ray has fashioned these 'practical' aspects of the standard language into a very appropriate metaphor:

We ordinarily speak of standardization in relation to tools. We expect of a standardized tool that it will be cheaper to acquire and maintain, that individual specimens will be very much alike and of relatively uniform dependability. When a tool is rarely used or used by only a few people, standardization is relatively unimportant. But if it comes to be used frequently and by a large number of people, standardization is often an advantage.

When we apply the concept of standardization to languages, we stress their tool-like character. From this point of view a language is only an instrument of communication; a means, not an end.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, Ray evaluates language standards according to 'efficiency', 'cost of outlay in acquisition', 'cost of maintenance over extended use'.<sup>16</sup> The analogy is a cogent one. Like all tools, language standards are human creations; their use must be learned; different ones are created for different tasks; some are more efficient than others; and just as important, some people will learn to use any given

one more efficiently than will other people.

### 1.5. The standard language as a central social concern

Anyone who questions the significance of matters of 'standard language' for the non-linguist would do well to review the history of Africa and South Asia in the present century. Northern India is a case in point. The attempt to oust English and establish Hindi as the nation's standard language '... has aroused the provincial nationalism of the non-Hindi language group; stirred deep regional, communal, and cultural divisions; and forced the reorganization of state boundaries to the accompaniment of vast civil violence running into tens of thousands of deaths.'<sup>17</sup>

The ideological confusion and excessively heated passions that have given rise to this state of affairs are amply illustrated by the following quotations. First this set:

... There is not a day to be lost. The Hindi noose is fast tightening round our necks. We have to act before the last breath is stifled.

... We have to carry on a vigorous, relentless, and countrywide propaganda for English. The message of English should be carried to every nook and corner of this land ...<sup>18</sup>

Now let us stand shoulder to shoulder and meet this challenge and fight this canker of Hindi imperialism. The fight may be bitter and long and the task uphill and steep. But let us not falter or flag. Let us go hand in hand and fight to the bitter end.

Never give in, Never Give in! Never, Never, Never, Never ...

The victory will be ours.<sup>19</sup>

And now this:

... To think that English can become our national language is a sign of weakness and betrays ignorance.

Then which is the language which fulfills all the requirements to be the national standard? We

shall have to admit that it is Hindi.<sup>20</sup>

How can any Indian really be averse to Hindustani? ...  
 Only that language which the people of a country will themselves adopt can become national. However virile the English language may be, it can never become the language of the masses of India ...<sup>21</sup>

If the second set of opinions sounds less inflammatory, it should: these are the words of Mahatma Gandhi. But many of those promoting Hindi have advocated enforcement through violence just as strongly as the pro-English writer cited.

Few of us will ever go to war over a standard language. Yet each of us does battle with a standard language nearly every day, whether it is our native tongue or a second language we are attempting to speak or write. Perhaps some phonetic feature of our local dialect grates on our employer's ear, and he remembers it whenever the subject of promotion is raised. Perhaps we hesitate unnaturally while addressing a foreign professor in his own language, fearing that the sort of speech we have picked up from friends may not be creating the desired impression. Perhaps in translating we encounter a phrase that our native language simply lacks the means to render adequately.

In war, the best strategy is to know one's enemy. Mere identification or description is not enough. Thorough knowledge requires that the subject's development be traced, starting from the deepest discernible roots; and it is according to this plan that the present work is structured.

Notes to Chapter 1

<sup>1</sup>Perry 1955: 124.

<sup>2</sup>Whether sleeping too continues to fulfill any vital function is a moot question. Cf. Sagan 1977: 136-156.

<sup>3</sup>Perry 1955: 124.

<sup>4</sup>Toynbee 1935.

<sup>5</sup>Perry 1955: 124.

<sup>6</sup>Note, for example, that Marxism, the great standard of the twentieth century, was the great innovation of the nineteenth; and that this ideology proclaiming the equality of the untold millions was shaped by a handful of outstanding thinkers.

<sup>7</sup>Perry 1955: 125.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Carlyle 1836 -- the classic 'philosophy of clothing'.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Elias 1969.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Section 2.3.

<sup>11</sup>On 'standard' vs 'standardized' language, see Weinreich 1954: 396; 1953: 93-103.

<sup>12</sup>Linguistic terminology is uniform across nearly all languages; it is an excellent example of standardization. But problems arise sporadically: German has yet to settle on an acceptable equivalent for 'standard language' (cf. Keller 1961: 5).

<sup>13</sup>See Chapter Five.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. Meillet 1965: 121; also p. 194 below.

<sup>15</sup>Ray 1962: 91.

<sup>16</sup>Ray 1963: 12-13.

<sup>17</sup>Passin 1968: 453.

<sup>18</sup>John (n.d.): 49.

<sup>19</sup>John (n.d.): 51-52.

<sup>20</sup>Gandhi 1956: 4.

<sup>21</sup>Gandhi 1956: 146.

## CHAPTER TWO: CIVILIZATION, DIGLOSSIA, ACCULTURATION

### 2.1. Civilization and standardization

Linguists have traditionally defined language standardization as a byproduct of civilization:

... une langue commune ... est la langue dont se sert une société ou des groupes sociaux dans leur vie de civilisation et dans leurs rapports avec d'autres groupes sociaux, tandis qu'ils emploient un autre idiome dans leur vie quotidienne.<sup>1</sup>

Cities create the forces that beget standardization ... The invention and spread of writing; its early uses in conjunction with religious works, records of state, and business records and correspondence; the emergence of new ideas and social trends all occur within urban centers. Cities ... impart prestige to the urban dialects of some of the upper classes.<sup>2</sup>

The word 'civilization' derives, in fact, from Latin civis 'citizen' -- a member of the city. In French, langue de civilisation is a commonly employed synonym of langue standard.<sup>3</sup>

Historians and anthropologists, meanwhile, have been working under the opposite assumption, viewing writing and other facets of standardization as primary criteria of a culture's 'civilized' status, and as the first steps in the civilization process:

What distinguishes a culture that is also a civilization from a primitive culture that is not civilized?

The least controversial and most important criterion is literacy. Primitive, prehistoric cultures are illiterate. Civilization and history begin with writing.<sup>4</sup>

This discussion cannot proceed until the issue has been confronted.<sup>5</sup> Are linguistic factors to be accorded primacy over other aspects of civilization? What empirical and logical evidence can be adduced for or against such a stand?

I suggest that the following four considerations be taken into account:

A. The languages of peoples who have not undergone civilization (or at least had not yet when they were the object of sociolinguistic investigation) exhibit, in many cases, certain hallmarks of the 'standard languages' of civilized societies, including the association of specific codes with specific functions and the consequent recognition of 'appropriate' and 'inappropriate', 'good' and 'bad' usages:<sup>6</sup>

The Menomini Indians of Wisconsin, a compact tribe of some 1700 people, speak a language without [regional] dialectal differences and have no writing. Yet the Menomini will say that one person speaks well and another badly, that such-and-such a form of speech is incorrect and sounds bad, and another too much like a shaman's preaching or archaic ('the way the old, old people talked').

... So in Menomini we have, for 'What are you laughing at?'

wæki? wæh-ayæ niyan ?

wæki? aya: yó: sinaman ?

tá: ni? wæt:é: hpiyan ?

The first form is illiterate, childish, stupid; the second is normal; the third elevated, poetic, archaizing.<sup>7</sup>

B. For the investigation of any historical process, writing is the most important facet of standardization, because it alone offers direct access to the past. Full consideration is given to the relationship between standardization and writing in section 5.7.

A number of 'primitive' groups, most of them victims of Western civilization's onslaught in the early years of this century, possessed writing systems that had advanced from the 'descriptive-representational' stage to the 'identifying-mnemonic', the final level of semasiography before the development of 'phonography' in the history of known graphic systems.<sup>8</sup> Notable among these scripts are, in Africa, the Nsibidi system employed by Nigerian natives,<sup>9</sup> and the writing of the Ewe in Togo,<sup>10</sup> various tribes of Zaire,<sup>11</sup> and possibly the Dogon, Bambara, and other tribes of Sudan;<sup>12</sup> in Central and South America, the graphic systems of the Cuna in Panama,<sup>13</sup> the Aymará in Bolivia and Peru;<sup>14</sup> and in North America, those of the Dakota and their mortal enemy, the Ojibwa.<sup>15</sup> But of these examples, only North American writing achieved one especially crucial advancement: 'The American Indians have reached a stage of systematization and standardization entirely unknown among the African Negroes. As Mallery puts it:--

One very marked peculiarity of the drawings of the Indians is that within each particular system, such as may be called a tribal system, of pictography, every Indian draws in precisely the same manner. The figures of a man, of a horse, and of every other object delineated, are made by everyone who attempts to make any such figure with all the identity of which their mechanical skill is capable, thus showing their conception and motive to be the same.<sup>16</sup>

Among the American Indians the signs drawn by one person of a tribe are generally understood by other members of the same tribe. Among the Africans the signs are understandable only to the person who drew them or at most to some of his nearest friends acquainted with the meaning of the signs.<sup>17</sup>

Although prior to their submission to Western ways various American Indian cultures exhibited traits of language standardization

in greater or lesser degrees of progress, and although inscriptional evidence indicates that this progress had, in some cases, been underway for many centuries, still none of the cultures in question could stake a claim to 'civilization' as the term is normally employed and understood. Ethnologists have sometimes promoted societies from the 'savage' or 'primitive' level in their classifications solely on the basis of linguistic and graphic evidence, even though few or no other cultural criteria supported such an elevation.

C. Ancient civilizations that have become extinct or have been wholly absorbed into other cultures can be approached through no direct linguistic evidence other than the graphic. The Andean civilization emerged around the beginning of the Christian era. It gave rise to the mighty Inca empire that reached its height in the fifteenth century after Christ, then came to an abrupt halt with the arrival of Pizzaro in 1533. This millenium and a half of flourishment saw astounding feats of engineering in both architecture and irrigation. Pottery-making and painting reached an aesthetic level '... not unworthy to be compared with the art of early Hellas.'<sup>18</sup> An intricate social structure (including laws and stratified government) was developed that pre-figured the modern socialist ideal.<sup>19</sup> And the instruments that survive attest to an advanced knowledge of astronomy and chronology -- this despite the fact that Andean culture arose independently of, and had no contact with, any previous civilization.

No anthropologist or historian would deny the Andeans the status of a 'highly developed civilization.' Yet they never possessed a writing system. Accounts and records were kept by a system called quipu, in which information was recorded with strings and knots of various length

and color,<sup>20</sup> and nothing suggests that communication by graphic means (apart from the representational depiction in their art) was ever undertaken.

D. The Mayan civilization emerged in the dense tropical forests of Central America around 500 B.C., independent of any other culture, and vanished mysteriously in the seventh century after Christ following two or three hundred years of intensely accelerated development. The 'Central American' or Aztec civilization, affiliated to the Mayan, began taking shape in the barren Yucatan peninsula sometime after A.D. 629, and was felled by earthquakes and invasions, with Cortes establishing Spanish sovereignty in 1519.

Neither the Mayans nor the Aztecs had any connection with the Andean culture. In art, architecture, and above all in the sciences of astronomy and chronology, the Mayans made strides that even the Andeans would never equal. In place of the elaborate Andean social system, the Mayans had a highly advanced and all-encompassing religious structure -- which, in decadent form, was inherited by the Aztecs.

Though a formidable culture, and undeniably 'civilized', the Aztecs lagged far behind the Mayans and the Andeans in practically every facet of development. Yet this 'inferior' civilization created what is apparently the most advanced writing system of the pre-Colonial Americas.<sup>21</sup> Investigation has shown Aztec writing to be more highly-systematized overall than even the North American scripts discussed above. It possessed a means of indicating number that broke completely with the primitive method and was identical with that developed by the great civilizations of the ancient Near East.<sup>22</sup> Most importantly it had taken the first steps toward becoming 'phonographic'. The

normal route by which a semasiographic system passes to the phonographic stage is via the indication of proper names by the signs for objects that sound like the name, or the combination of two or more signs for objects that sound like parts of the name. The Aztec place name Quauhnauc, literally 'near the forest' (quauh 'tree, forest'; nauac 'near') is written as the conjunction of the sign for 'forest' (quauh) and the sign for 'language' (naua-tl, phonetically similar to nauac).<sup>23</sup> Aztec writing must still be classified as semasiographic, but the essential leap had been made.

These four considerations yield an inescapable conclusion. Language standardization and standardized writing have been observed among uncivilized North American cultures, while the highly advanced Andean civilization functioned without writing entirely, and the most advanced American graphic system was possessed by a 'second-rate' civilization, the Aztec. With this evidence in hand, I categorically refute any direct correlation between level of civilization and level of linguistic standardization and graphic development. Any ethnological, anthropological, or historical analysis suggesting a linguistic-graphic causation or definition for civilizations, or stating that 'Writing exists only in a civilization and a civilization cannot exist without writing',<sup>24</sup> is sciolistic and erroneous.

How, then, is the relationship between civilization and language standardization to be characterized? If one bears in mind that the former is the all-inclusive category of which the latter is the potential element, and not the other way around, then the judgment is clear enough: respondeat superior. It is the anthropologist-historian who can and must provide the precise answer (not the linguist, who is

expert only in the limited scope of the inferior). His failure to do so hereunto stems not from inability, but from blindness to the question itself, induced by the haze of a faulty assumption.

For now, at least, we can discern the general outlines of the relationship: The tendencies toward language standardization noted among the Menominee and the development of writing by the Dakota, Ojibwa, and other primitive cultures, suggest that these are behavior patterns latent in any group defined -- not as 'civilized' -- but as human.

Such patterns of behavior, whether still in latent state or already manifest, are among many potential but optional modes of response to the 'challenge from the environment' or whatever other motivation the anthropologist-historian posits for the genesis of a civilization.<sup>25</sup> The tremendous value of standardization and writing as responses to this stimulus is indicated by the fact that only one great civilization appears ever to have flourished in their absence. The same civilization proves their optionality.

Finally, the study of cultures past and present has furnished no example of standardization and writing progressing to highly advanced degrees without the accompaniment of at least moderate progress in other facets of civilization. A loose correlation therefore suggests itself; but any further inference would be dangerous, since the argument is ex silentio, subject to cancellation upon the excavation of a non-civilization of high graphic achievement.

## 2.2 Background to standardization: Western culture.

Since my focus is on language standardization as a subsidiary

process within Western civilization, a survey of the origins and development of that civilization will not be out of place here.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, a perspective of the West including its antecedent cultures and most influential cognates is essential for a thorough comprehension of the standardization process.

Just as 'language standardization' designates 'a limited range of variant processes' of linguistic development, so Western civilization refers to a specifically limited range of variant patterns of cultural development.

Western culture did not originate 'from scratch'. It represents a modification of previously established cultural patterns whose ultimate starting point, as far as can be determined, was the Minoan civilization that arose in the Aegean islands before 3000 B.C.

Though its development was fueled by a number of outside influences, Minoan civilization appears to have been 'independent' — that is, a previously primitive culture's self-motivated creation. Minos' thalassocracy came to an end around 1750 B.C.; some six centuries passed before its threads were picked up by a new civilization, the Hellenic, which emerged on the Aegean islands and mainland coast.

The Minoan culture had disintegrated to such a degree that the Hellenic must be considered a 'semi-independent' development. Colonization and Alexander's conquests 'Hellenized' the known world, yet the civilization was nearing its demise when it was absorbed, transmuted, and imposed upon an even larger world by the Romans.

As the Roman Empire crumbled, Hellenic civilization again went into decline, this time never to recover. But by the end of the eighth century, a stirring had begun in the Greco-Roman ashes. Not until the

early tenth century did the phoenix raise its head, however, as Western civilization started taking shape in earnest throughout the great cities of Western Europe. Its status as a non-independent, 'affiliated' culture was recognized, indeed proudly proclaimed -- this was not a birth, but a Renaissance.

Once underway, progress accelerated rapidly. One great innovation followed another: printing, the discovery of America, the Reformation, universal education, the Scientific Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, the Thermonuclear Revolution -- the list could be extended to many times the length of this book.

Eventually, 'Western' civilization became world civilization.<sup>27</sup> Few human communities remain un-Westernized in at least some aspect of culture.<sup>28</sup> Some societies have undergone such extensive acculturation to Western ways that their surviving native patterns are no more than relics or symbols, imparting a national or ethnic 'color'.

The most successful of the acculturated societies is undoubtedly the Soviet Union. Before the advent of Western civilization in Europe, the dying Hellenic culture yielded another offshoot, the 'Orthodox Christian', in Asia Minor. This civilization was spread northward by evangelism and force of arms. Russia, a peripheral branch, began large-scale assimilation to Western culture in the seventeenth century; the turning point came in 1917 with the Revolution and the adoption of Marxism -- a deviant Western pattern, but a Western innovation all the same. Yet Russia's guiding tenet is the evil of mainstream Western civilization; hence the ideologization of many Byzantine traces remaining in Russian culture.

Finally, I should mention another offshoot of the West's 'ancestral'

civilization. After the Minoan Empire collapsed, a Völkerwanderung brought large segments of its population through Egypt and the Levant to Syria, where with Hebrew and Phoenician infusions, they produced the Syriac civilization around the same time the Hellenic was emerging in the Aegean. The Syriac would eventually provide the Hellenic with an alphabet -- and much later with a religion, Christianity, that would survive to become the major binding force behind Western civilization.

Internal conflict and Assyrian invasion brought about the downfall of Syriac culture, beginning as early as the ninth or tenth century B.C. -- only two to three hundred years after its initial emergence. Its great successor civilizations, the Iranic and Arabic, were not to come about for another two millenia; each originated sometime before A.D. 1300. Arabic culture was particularly influential in the development of the West, both as an agent of unification (the various Western nations agreed on little except the need to drive the Saracen dog from Europe and the Holy Land), and as keeper of the flame of Greek learning. Without the re-introduction of Greek science, philosophy, and language, accomplished primarily through the medium of Arabic, the Renaissance might have occurred later, with less intensity, or not at all.

After A.D. 1516, the Iranic and Arabic cultures fused to produce a single civilization, the Islamic, destined to become Western culture's temporary minion, perennial adversary, and, according to Edward Said, necessary and convenient antithesis.<sup>29</sup>

How does one account for the West's phenomenal success? Of the great innovations that laid the foundations for Western progress, many were achieved independently in other cultures. The Chinese, for example, had discovered printing, paper, and gunpowder -- three of the most

potent tools in a culture's development and propagation. Yet compared to the West, China remained at a standstill. The scientific attainments of medieval Islam were considerable, and were imparted to the newly emerging West. Yet within Islam science proved a blind alley. Many of the African and South Asian cultures currently in the throes of Westernization appear to have been progressing steadily toward civilization for millenia before the Europeans arrived with totally different customs, religion, ethics, and aesthetics. Yet within a few decades acculturation was underway.<sup>30</sup>

Anthropologists (i.e., those who focus on the 'primitive' culture) and sociologists (i.e., those primarily concerned with the 'civilized'; and even this classificatory detail evinces Western cultural-centricity) have tried time and again to explain the West's unparalleled rise, but a complete and satisfactory answer remains to be formulated. We may begin by discounting certain factors which previous generations of scholars accorded serious consideration: the promulgators of Western civilization did not triumph because of greater physical or intellectual prowess (or any other 'genetic' factor), favorable geographic situation or climatic conditions, higher moral standards, or divine protection. Interestingly, the last two of these factors -- those which a modern scholar might be quickest to dismiss -- may actually come closest to relevance. The success of Western civilization and the comparative failure of rival cultures may be attributed in part to the structure of religion, especially to religion's control over innovation and science:

Professor Ho Peng Yoke (1967) has discussed 'the failure of traditional Chinese science in giving birth to modern science until the time when it got engulfed into the mainstream of our modern universally valid world science'. He related it first and foremost to the dominance of

pseudoscientific theories (as from The Book of Change) which acted for a long period as a huge sacred filing cabinet where all information was kept and continuously applied ... without being subjected to further analysis. In this atmosphere a certain obscurantism dominated ... Chinese science was not yet able to liberate itself from traditional beliefs and to develop scientific scepticism ... 31

Indeed, some of the most serious setbacks to Western progress occurred when the Church displayed or applied her instruments of torture to the possessors of innovative minds -- to the heretics. Yet such shows of strength revealed internal weakness; the Church's grip on the daily life of her flock had loosened irrevocably. Western Christian life in the Renaissance had become secularized to a degree that Islam and most of the world's other religions would never permit --- at least not until they came under strong enough Western influence. The Muslim law forbidding dissection of the human body was a dead end for the development of medicine and anatomical science. The secularization of the West allowed greater freedom for the growth of 'scepticism' and for the experimentation necessary for innovation and progress.

The Reformation, which dissolved the traditional religious structure in a large part of Western Europe, was a sudden, concentrated culmination of this secularization process; the remaining Catholic world has continued to secularize, slowly but steadily, over the ensuing centuries, until Catholic and Protestant doctrine have become virtually identical (save for a nominal recognition of papal authority). Meanwhile, science has progressed at a steadily accelerating rate. It is most probable that the two trends are connected.

Not only the development, but also the spread of Western civilization may be partly explained by religious factors. The Judeo-Christian-Islamic tradition is the only stable example of monotheistic

religion attested in history. (The principal 'unstable' case is Zoroastrianism, which flourished in Persia for roughly two centuries prior to the conquest by Alexander; it influenced and was influenced by Judaism, and continues a vestigial existence to this day). Mazrui suggests that '... those who believe in one God have tended to be intolerant of other religious visions. This thesis rests on a simple proposition: if there is only one God, by definition there is not room for another God ... and loyalty to Him therefore has to be absolute.'<sup>32</sup> Intolerance sparked the urge to proselytize -- to bring those intolerable rival visions into line with the 'truth'. Here the Jews fall away from the front line of 'progress'; for although they accept religious converts from all races, no equivalent of a St Paul or Mohammed (himself originally a polytheist) has ever arisen to actively compete for converts. Judaism was and remains ethnically-bound. 'Islam and Christianity had a commitment to convert the world to their own image. And they became competitive precisely because of that desire.'<sup>33</sup>

Religions like Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism, though ambitious at one stage of their history, later ceased militantly proselytizing. To that extent they were not competitive in our sense. They settled for the converts they already had ... Judaism became a religion inseparable from Jewish nationalism.<sup>34</sup>

Certainly, the importance of 'competitive religion' in the spread of culture is undeniable.<sup>35</sup>

The readiness of many pantheistic and polytheistic Asian, African, and American peoples to accept the Christian God may, conversely, be attributed to a greater degree of tolerance inherent in such religious systems:

Religions that acknowledge the existence of many gods, on the other hand, are not specially incensed

when one more group comes along and claims gods of its own. Where the world of divine kingdom is not monopolized by one candidate, the admitting of new candidates is more readily accomodated.<sup>36</sup>

Of course, no civilization can continue to develop or spread if its possessors are destroyed or receive severe military setbacks. Persian-Zoroastrian culture was cut off by the Greeks, Aztec culture by earthquakes and Europeans; Chinese progress was curtailed by the Monogolian conquest, the spread of Islam undone by Christian swords. Western civilization may be counted very fortunate in this regard. It did not begin in one particular place and diffuse slowly. Rather, it arose simultaneously in several areas of Europe that were already connected by an established international 'communications network' -- the Church -- whose transcontinental structure was actually the last vestige of the Roman Empire. Being widely scattered from the start meant that the new civilization was nearly impossible to defeat; its eggs, so to speak, were never in one basket. In addition, most of the battles fought by Western nations would not be against pagan invaders or Saracen dogs, but against other Western nations. If a defeat for one part of the West was a victory for another, the culture might still advance in the end.<sup>37</sup>

These are only partial answers. If we cannot fully explain the rise of Western civilization, at least we may better understand it in the light of the three factors considered: 1) the secularization of Western life and the consequent freedom of experimentation and 'scientific scepis'; 2) the competitiveness of Western religion, a byproduct of monotheism; and 3) the widely scattered origin of Western culture -- made possible, be it noted, by the possession across Europe of a common standard language, Latin.

Perhaps the rise of language standardization as a characteristic process within Western civilization was somehow connected with the culture's monotheism. A single, unchallengeable God meant a single, unchallengeable Ethic -- which meant that in any given circumstance there was a single Right, and that all other options were wrong. This is precisely the attitude behind the popular conception of the standard language. Yet any such link between religious and linguistic beliefs is pure speculation. One might more convincingly ascribe the Western impulse toward standardization to the fact that the culture itself was built on the foundation of the common Latin (though this too is conjecture, not a serious proposal).

The vast majority of the world's communities have acculturated to or at least accepted the superiority of Western progress in the sciences. Adoption of Western customs, ethics, and beliefs in other areas has been much less frequent, much less rapid. Westernization in one facet of culture does not necessarily lead to the Westernization of any other facet.<sup>38</sup> It is not uncommon for a culture -- consciously or not -- to assimilate the Western conception and ideal of language standardization well in advance of borrowing the necessary mechanism.

If Western civilization should fall into decay (as Spengler predicted it would over sixty years ago), it will leave the legacy of a world-wide 'communications network' into which the next great civilization (if there is one) can step, just as the West started from the groundwork of the Roman Empire and Church. Language standardization is so crucial a thread in the structure of that network that its ultimate survival into any great civilization of the future seems well assured.

### 2.3. Acculturation via diglossia

The advanced civilizations have both the means and the desire of extending their great achievements to lower civilizations and uncivilized cultures. And as always, the West is in the forefront.

As a route to progress, adaptation has great advantages over invention. The primitive culture is spared the centuries of trial and error or accidental discovery necessary for (re)inventing the wheel. Even after the innovation is made, its dissemination through the culture might take many years longer than if the information were channelled through an advanced civilization's highly developed communications technology.

Of course, this greater efficiency does not come without a price. The society that moves forward by adaptation gives up a portion of its identity. It fades into the great gray unity of the advanced civilization and other cultures swallowed up by it. The ensuing psychological toll may be severe.

In the days of imperialism and the 'White Man's Burden', 'Civilisation' (with a capital C) was systematically foisted upon unwitting and unwilling peoples, who paid with their political independence as well as their individuality. But the period of colonialism accounts for only a small portion of the history of Western civilization. Cultural dominance -- a type of prestige achieved with books, not guns -- is a highly potent force in its own right. In fact, political control that does not lead to cultural dominance can ultimately yield nothing more than a facade of adapted civilization.<sup>39</sup>

The acculturation of dominated to dominant is a familiar theme in our experience: the child watching and copying the actions of

adults around him, and so learning the precepts of human behavior; the student in the classroom, learning to think and talk as does his model, the teacher. It consists, in short, of imitating the behavior of a person who knows something one does not know, until one has assimilated that behavior and the associated knowledge. Acculturation is learning.

These are no mere analogies or metaphors. 'Civilization' is a collective abstraction for the learning process that occurs within the individuals of a society. Not all members of the society are involved -- perhaps not even a majority -- particularly during the initial stages. Many 'civilizations' remain a small acculturated élite dominating vast primitive multitudes.<sup>40</sup>

Acculturation begins with a number of the underdeveloped society's members, who come to envy the prestige accruing to their 'superiors' in the dominant culture, and who set out to earn some of that prestige, and its attendant amenities, for themselves. They observe, imitate, and assimilate the behavior patterns of the dominant models, just as any student learns from a teacher.

But here a fundamental problem arises. If student and teacher belong to two different cultures, what language do they use to communicate with each other?

The dominant culture's tongue would seem the logical choice, since it is the pupil's task to copy the teacher, and not the other way around. The Roman avant-garde d'acculturation learned their tutors' Greek, the Norwegians Danish, the Rumanians French. Even if the model is a fallen civilization, with no native teachers available and a language no longer natively spoken, acculturation is still possible. The essential knowledge must be sought through indirect means. Chances

are that if the model culture was highly advanced, a written corpus (and perhaps an artificial spoken tradition) preserves the language in classical form. Such, indeed, were the circumstances surrounding the rise of Western civilization, accomplished through the medium of Classical Latin and Greek.<sup>41</sup>

The dominated culture's language, however, cannot serve as the vehicle of cultural transmission, for it is still in unstandardized state, not developed for use in the 'civilized' functions which are to be assimilated.<sup>42</sup>

The first task of the dominated culture's avant-garde is to demonstrate that they are the equals of their dominant models, that they are capable of performing every function of the great civilization -- and that they can do it in the model society's own language.<sup>43</sup> In order to advance their culture, they must betray it.<sup>44</sup>

Yet the prestige that they gain in this manner is not merely for themselves; it reflects on the dominated society as a whole.<sup>45</sup>

The situation of a dominant and a dominated language co-existing in a community, with each reserved for particular functions, is termed diglossia.<sup>46</sup> As the following chart reveals, a language's 'prestige rating' can change with time:

Prestige <sup>47</sup>	Language <sup>48</sup>	Period:			
		250-100 B.C.	800-1350	1700-	1900-
High	Greek	Latin	French	French	
Low	Latin <sup>49</sup>	French <sup>49</sup>	Haitian Creole <sup>50</sup>	Bambara <sup>51</sup>	

Nothing intrinsically prevents the diglossia from remaining stable;<sup>52</sup>  
indeed, numerous such situations have gone unchanged for centuries.<sup>53</sup>

But standardization of its language is one of the facets of civilization that the dominated culture must assimilate before acculturation is complete. Actually, because of the crucial importance of language as the vehicle for transmitting all other cultural elements, the linguistic aspects of civilization tend to command attention early on -- even as the avant-garde still struggle to master the 'high' model tongue.

It is, in fact, by mastering the 'high' language -- by imitating and assimilating the distinctive traits of a standardized language -- that the dominated avant-garde learn to standardize their own vernacular. Once they attain capability in the 'high' language, they can learn the 'standard-language functions'; and having once mastered the functions, they can begin putting their native tongue to tentative use in them, making the requisite changes of form by borrowing from or modelling on the 'high'.<sup>54</sup>

The ability to perform all or nearly all important functions in the native vernacular carries great symbolic value for a society. It signifies that acculturation and civilization are (by and large) complete, and that native cultural identity has not been wholly lost in the process. The formerly 'low' language -- indeed, the entire 'dominated' culture -- has climbed to 'high' prestige by observing and imitating one that had already made the journey.

But acculturation never ends completely. The tools of civilization must be extended to all strata of the society.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, the society must not stop admiring and emulating some foreign culture if it

is to continue growing and flourishing. The identity of this dominant culture may change repeatedly, and of course the relationship will be very different than at the earlier stages of civilization. The linguistic effects of such influence will be treated in detail in Chapter Six.

#### 2.4. Expansion of loyalties and lines of contact

As I noted in the first chapter, civilization tends to impose a greater degree of abstraction on human life. One is removed from the sphere of immediate, palpable, sensual reality into a realm of intellectual endeavor and intellectual pleasure.

For primitive man, the tribe defines his life, the world, and his place in the world. It is his primary unit of loyalty. He may also belong to a family, a clan, and a sect within the tribe. But because of its greater survival value (or a formerly greater survival value now petrified into tradition), he recognizes the tribe as the great res publica under which his other loyalties are subsumed.

Western civilization is itself a very weak unit of loyalty. Perhaps this is because since its inception it has never actually been threatened with destruction.

Instead, the nation, as primary unit of loyalty, is the building block of the West.<sup>56</sup> One requirement of civilization that the avant-garde must transmit to their culture is recognition of, and loyalty to, broader social units more removed from the immediate reality of day-to-day contact.

Advanced civilization requires efficiency, and efficiency requires standardization. In the last few decades, the West has imposed its modern conception of the nation literally upon the world. But loyalty

is a very deeply-rooted instinct, and a community's self-image will not change as soon as outsiders declare it a part of some larger unit.

The co-existence of numerous units of loyalty begets the interplay among 'language', 'national language', 'dialect', 'regional dialect' and so forth, to be discussed in the following chapters. Language loyalties are inseparable from other cultural loyalties.<sup>57</sup> How the society feels about itself determines how it regards its language -- with a certain amount of influence in the opposite direction.

Whatever dialect is used in the newly assimilated functions, civilization is certain to extend the acculturating society's lines of contact across all the world and all of recorded history. This expanded sphere of communication means that the chosen dialect must be elaborated for use in discussing and disseminating the acculturated matter, and simultaneously controlled in order to keep communication efficient. In language, as in other facets of culture, civilization imposes standardization; and the more highly advanced the civilization, the more thorough the standardization must be.

Notes to Chapter 2

- <sup>1</sup>Sommerfelt 1938: 42.
- <sup>2</sup>Shaffer 1978: 56. Cf. also Garvin and Mathiot 1956.
- <sup>3</sup>Cf. Terracini 1956: 25.
- <sup>4</sup>Chambers et al. 1979: 5.
- <sup>5</sup>Neustupný (1968: 288-289) does present the question, but does not pursue it to a conclusion.
- <sup>6</sup>Cf. p. 202 below.
- <sup>7</sup>Bloomfield 1927: 433. I have inserted the word [regional] to clarify Bloomfield's meaning; in his usage, 'dialectal' implies regional differentiation.
- <sup>8</sup>Gelb 1963: 190-194, 203-205.
- <sup>9</sup>See Jensen 1969: 209-210; Diringer 1968: 106-107.
- <sup>10</sup>Meinhof 1911; Gelb 1963: 48-49.
- <sup>11</sup>See Dennett 1906.
- <sup>12</sup>See Zahan 1950; Griaule and Dieterlen 1951.
- <sup>13</sup>See Nordenskiöld 1928; Diringer 1968: 110-111.
- <sup>14</sup>See Lehmann-Haupt 1919: 58-60; Friedrich-Leipzig 1937: 333-334; Diringer 1968: 110.
- <sup>15</sup>On the Dakota, see Mallery 1886: 89-146; Mallery 1893: 266-328; Gelb 1963: 41-44. On the Ojibwa, see Mallery 1886: 82-24; Mallery 1893: 231-250; Gelb 1963: 44-47.
- <sup>16</sup>Mallery 1886: 17.
- <sup>17</sup>Gelb 1963: 50.
- <sup>18</sup>Toynbee 1935: 123.
- <sup>19</sup>See Baudin 1928.
- <sup>20</sup>Gelb 1963: 4.

<sup>21</sup>The Mayan script remains undeciphered, but is almost certainly not phonographic. The Mayan language itself is known, at least in its modern form, and one doubts that it would have changed so drastically over the centuries since the civilization flourished as to make decipherment impossible, were the script actually phonetic. (This is, in elaborated form, the argument adduced by Gelb 1963: 56.) Some -- most notably Knorozov (1955) -- have claimed, however, that not only had the Mayans taken the initial steps toward phonographic writing, but that in fact their systems was 'alphabetic-syllabic' and possessed very few semasiographs. But Knorozov's findings -- including his once highly-touted 'decipherment' -- are today in widespread disrepute (Cf. Diringer 1968: 91).

<sup>22</sup>The primitive method of representing the message 'five men' was to draw the figure of a man five times. The Aztec-Near Eastern innovation was to indicate 'five' by a special figure, a 'numeral' (in Aztec, five tangent circles), followed by a single symbol for 'man'. See Gelb 1963: 59.

<sup>23</sup>Jensen 1969: 224.

<sup>24</sup>Gelb 1963: 222, where (to salt the wound) it is printed in italics. The statement is utterly indefensible in light of the Andean and the Ewe or Dakota examples cited by Gelb himself.

<sup>25</sup>Cf. p. 3 above.

<sup>26</sup>The historical survey which follows is largely based on Bury and Meiggs 1975, Cary and Scullard 1975, Chambers et al. 1979, Kirk 1964, Kroeber 1962, Ribeiro 1968, Toynbee 1935 and 1972.

<sup>27</sup>Cf. Fishman 1968d: 494, where 'Westernized' is taken as equivalent to 'internationalized'.

<sup>28</sup>Cf. Passin 1968: 443: 'Underdeveloped countries are not tabulae rasae waiting virginally for Western ideas to be inscribed. Each has a long history, a set of predispositions which select out, under specific historic conditions, the particular Western influences to which they will respond.'

<sup>29</sup>Said 1978.

<sup>30</sup>Cf. Ansre 1970: 696: '... we note that the agents of language standardisation in Africa south of the Sahara have in almost all cases been foreign Western Europeans. Certainly before graphisation was introduced a certain amount of standardisation of the spoken languages might have existed. This seems to have been the trend in Ashanti and Dahomey, where the Asante dialect and F<sup>~</sup> were said to be spreading into the territories under the political and military influence of these historical kingdoms. It is also said that a great deal of standardisation was achieved when Zulu spread with the conquests of Chaka. But the most

important steps toward standardisation in the history of these languages were taken when Europeans introduced education, Christianity, and western culture.' (Emphasis added).

<sup>31</sup>Alisjahbana 1976: 18-19. See Yoke 1967.

<sup>32</sup>Mazrui 1974: 7.

<sup>33</sup>Mazrui 1974: 6, repeated in Mazrui 1976: 20.

<sup>34</sup>Mazrui 1976: 20.

<sup>35</sup>Cf. Mazrui 1974: 37; 1976: 31-32.

<sup>36</sup>Mazrui 1974: 8.

<sup>37</sup>It is rather an unconsoling compliment to the West that its external enemies have continued to pose a threat only by imitating and adopting Western military progress.

<sup>38</sup>But here again a loose correlation may be discerned. Cf. Passin 1968: 447.

<sup>39</sup>Cf. Das Gupta 1968: 17-18, 23-24; Seshadri 1965: 7.

<sup>40</sup>Cf. Valdman 1968: 314; Harries 1968: 423.

<sup>41</sup>See also the discussion of Modern Hebrew in 6.2. below.

<sup>42</sup>Cf. Alexandre 1968: 125-126: 'As far as I know, there is but a single example of a modern African ideology created and expressed originally in an African language: J.K. Nyerere's ujamaa. All the other brands of African socialism, as well as Nkrumahian consciencism (or was it conscientialism?) and Senghor's négritude, were conceived, and written down, and broadcast either in French or in English. All these ideologies are supposed to shape up the behavior and even the thinking of all citizens in every country with a single party system. Yet I do not think that any of their fundamental creeds and formulations can be precisely and entirely translated in any African language I know. It may well be that this is only a transient situation and that evolution under political pressure will transform those languages and enable them some day to express fully and exactly these ideologies. It is even more likely that the process will be a reciprocal one and that linguistic pressures will also transform the ideologies. For the time being there is no possibility of real communication between the political élite who formulate in all cases the ideology, and in most cases the policies, and the masses who are supposed to live by and implement them.' (Emphasis added).

<sup>43</sup>Cf. Mazrui 1968: 186.

<sup>44</sup>Cf. Hyder 1966.

<sup>45</sup>The cultural avant-garde sometimes takes advantage of the situation, however, allowing itself to become 'a kind of oligarchy ... because of its monopoly of this very special and powerful intellectual instrument or tool' (Alexandre 1968: 122).

<sup>46</sup>Ferguson (1959: 325-326), introducing the term into English, noted the earlier use of diglossie for the same situation by French linguists.

<sup>47</sup>'Prestige' is only the first of several scales of diglossia discussed by Ferguson. The others are literary heritage, method of acquisition, standardization, stability of the situation (see text), and structural characteristics (grammar, lexicon, phonology). But prestige is in many ways at the root of all these other factors (cf. 1.2. above). Its central significance makes it an ideal 'control' criterion.

<sup>48</sup>In Ferguson's original formulation, 'diglossia' was restricted to situations in which 'no segment of the speech community ... regularly uses H [the "high" language] as a medium of ordinary conversation'; this type of diglossia is typified by Classical and Colloquial Arabic, Katharevousa and Demotic Greek, Standard and Swiss German, and Standard French and Haitian Creole. Specifically excluded was 'the more usual standard-with-dialects situation' familiar from Italian or Persian; as well as cases where 'high' and 'low' are unrelated languages, as when Latin was the prestige language of developing Hungary (Ferguson 1959: 336-337). Perhaps because the similarities between the three types are more significant than the differences, 'diglossia' has undergone a semantic extension in the years since 1959, and is now regularly applied to the Arabic, the Italian, and the Hungarian conditions (cf., for example, Fishman 1968b: 45).

<sup>49</sup>See Kahane and Kahane 1979; and pp. 125-128 below.

<sup>50</sup>See Pompilus 1979 and Valdman 1968.

<sup>51</sup>See Blondé 1979.

<sup>52</sup>Cf. Ferguson 1959: 338; also Fishman 1968b: 50, n. 15, where diglossia is described as 'stable intragroup bilingualism'.

<sup>53</sup>Cf. Ferguson 1959: 332-333.

<sup>54</sup>Cf. Gukhman 1964: 15-17; Terracini 1956: 24.

<sup>55</sup>This is a slow, gradual process. Learning of the standard language, for example, often takes place in two phases: passive knowledge is acquired before the language is put to active use (cf. Tabouret-Keller 1968: 109).

<sup>56</sup>Christianity, or at least Judeo-Christian monotheism, continues to be an unorganized, loosely binding force in Western culture -- though not nearly so strong as it was in the days of the Crusades against Islam, nor indeed as the Islamic religion is (despite the division into various sects) for that culture.

<sup>57</sup>Cf. Weinreich 1953: 88, 99-102.

## CHAPTER THREE: LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION AND 'SYNECDOCHE'

### 3.1. Dialect and language

The achievements of a given faction's representatives in the cultural avant-garde are only one among many criteria determining whether its dialect will become the standard language of the entire culture or nation. Other factors will be examined in this and the following chapter.

I have just referred to a dialect becoming a language; in the previous chapter, I treated the dialect as part of a language. This paradox, so crucial to an understanding of the standardization process, stems primarily from the ambiguity of the term 'language' and its cognates in all Western (and Westernized) tongues. Besides being highly polysemic (hence often requiring substantial modification or context for disambiguation), 'language' possesses powerful, deeply ingrained social connotations, which, while crucial to sociolinguistic inquiry, merely hamper structural description.

'Language' status is not conferred upon a system by linguists, but is established by the society as a whole. The linguist's task is to explain why some systems are deemed 'languages', while others are relegated to a subsidiary position.<sup>1</sup>

The generally accepted view is that formulated in the early 1950s by Kloss, according to which 'languages' are constituted on the basis of either or both of two fundamental criteria, Abstand and Ausbau. The first of these he explains as follows:

Manche Idiome werden als 'Sprachen' bezeichnet, weil sie von jeder anderen Sprache in ihrer Substanz, ihrem 'Sprachkörper', so verschieden sind, dass sie auch dann als Sprache bezeichnet werden würden, wenn es in ihnen keine einzige gedruckte Zeile gäbe.

Typische Beispiele sind in Europa das Baskische und das Albanische, zwei Idiome, die zu keiner der grossen in Europa verbreiteten Sprachfamilien ( ... ) gehören. Aber hierher gehören auch:

- germanische Sprachen, wie Friesisch und Niedersächsisch ('Sassisch'),
- romanische Sprachen, wie Okzitanisch und Sardisch,
- slawische Sprachen, wie Kaschubisch und Sorbisch.

Man kann alle diese Sprachen als 'Abstandssprachen' bezeichnen.<sup>2</sup>

'The term Abstandssprache', Kloss wrote elsewhere, 'is paraphrased best as "language by distance", the reference being of course not to geographical but to intrinsic distance.'<sup>3</sup> This explains fully why Basque is considered a separate language and not a 'Spanish dialect', and it accounts in part for the independence of Catalan as well. But it leaves unexplained the 'dialect' status of Andalusian and Asturian; for they too differ from Castilian Spanish in several basic phonological and morphological features.<sup>4</sup>

Ausbau is the factor by which Kloss distinguishes between, on the one hand, Andalusian and Asturian, on the other, Catalan:

Wenn hingegen das Slowakische vom Tschechischen, das Weissruthenische vom Russischen, das Katalanische vom Okzitanischen, das Gälische Schottlands vom Irischen als besondere Sprache unterschieden werden, so liegt der Grund nicht in ihrer linguistischen Sonderstellung, sondern in ihrer soziologischen Verselbständigung, so dass man hier auch kurzweg von 'Ausbausprachen' reden kann.<sup>5</sup>

Czech and Slovak, Russian and Byelorussian, Catalan and Occitan, Scots and Irish Gaelic -- as well as Danish and Swedish, Bulgarian and Macedonian --<sup>6</sup> are all distinct 'languages', even though the paired items do not show sufficient abstand between them. 'The term Ausbausprache may be defined as "language by development". Languages

belonging in this category are recognized as such because of having been shaped or reshaped, molded or remolded -- as the case may be --<sup>7</sup> into 'Werkzeuge für qualifizierte Anwendungszwecke und -bereiche';<sup>8</sup> specifically, for the constituent functions of civilization.

Returning to the Iberian peninsula, we note that Basque is exclusively an 'abstand' language -- it has not undergone any notable degree of 'ausbau.'<sup>9</sup> Abstand is not a [±] feature; it may be of a greater or a lesser order, and what constitutes 'sufficient abstand' differs from situation to situation. Of the varieties spoken natively by large communities on the peninsula, Basque obviously manifests the greatest abstand vis-à-vis Castilian Spanish, since the two are not genetically related.

The next highest abstand from Castilian is shown by Catalan, which is often grouped into diasystems with the dialects of southwestern and south-central France rather than with its co-national dialects to the west. The medium of an old, continuous, and thriving literary output (non-fiction as well as belles-lettres), Catalan is a 'language' by virtue of both abstand and ausbau.<sup>10</sup>

As for Portuguese, its abstand with Castilian is of a lesser (albeit still substantial) degree; but in ausbau it is more than the equal of Catalan. While centuries of political autonomy have facilitated the ausbau of Portuguese, Catalan has had to resist five hundred years of Madrilenian suppression.

But in addition to aiding the ausbau process, the independence of Portugal is in and of itself largely responsible for the recognition of Portuguese as a language; consider the fact that Galician, which from a structural view is generally considered to constitute a single diasystem

(see section 3.2. below) with Portuguese and which shared the early phases of its ausbau -- but which, however, is spoken in the nation of Spain -- ranks, with little argument, not as a language, but as a dialect.

But abstand is not a purely linguistic concept, nor ausbau a purely sociological one.<sup>11</sup> No fixed abstand criteria exist; Wolff has claimed that mutual intelligibility depends largely upon intergroup attitudes.<sup>12</sup> The changes in status and function by which Kloss characterizes ausbau are not inseparable from the changes in linguistic form which they engender.

In sum, language status is determined by 1) structural distinctiveness, 2) structural development, 3) functional sphere, 4) speakers' self-image, and 5) speakers' units of loyalty.

Dialects are determined in much the same way as languages. Like 'language', the term 'dialect' is ambiguous and possesses wide-ranging connotations in popular usage -- whence the confusion often experienced by laymen hearing linguists use the term 'neutrally'.<sup>13</sup>

For the linguist, dialect is the negative pole of the same set of structural and loyalty criteria whose positive pole is language. If two systems do not differ from each other sufficiently to constitute two 'languages', then they are dialects of (or within) the same language. If a system has not been developed into a 'standard "language"', then it is a 'non-standard dialect'. If a community's primary unit of loyalty is politically non-autonomous, they do not speak a 'national "language"', but a 'regional dialect'.<sup>14</sup>

The 'community' by which the dialect is defined need not correspond

to any established political unit. The dialect of a particular social class -- even if its members are scattered across a number of regions -- may be quite as unitary and distinctive as the dialect of a compact village on an isolated hilltop. In fact, because of the nature of the acculturation process,<sup>15</sup> the base of a standard language is usually easier to delimit in terms of a 'social' than of a 'geographical' dialect.<sup>16</sup>

If the upper class of town A has more contact with town B's upper class than with the lower class of town A, we should expect its members to talk more like the former than the latter -- barring any reasons to the contrary, such as intense local pride (campanilismo). Even if town A's upper-class citizens do have regular contact with the lower class, the only result should be an expansion of their total 'repertoire'. A convergence of native (or, as I will explain below, focal) dialects would be blocked by obvious factors of prestige.

### 3.2. Other levels of classification

In order to classify linguistic systems in a more scientific fashion, linguists have devised categories such as variety and diasystem that presuppose no popular determination. According to one definition,

A variety is any body of human speech patterns which is sufficiently homogeneous to be analyzed by available techniques of synchronic description and which has a sufficiently large repertory of elements and their arrangements or processes with broad enough semantic scope to function in all normal contexts of communication.<sup>17</sup>

At the next higher level of abstraction:

A 'diasystem' can be constructed by the linguistic analyst out of any two systems which have partial similarities ( ... ).<sup>18</sup>

Note that the speakers' opinions are nowhere taken into consideration.

The variety and the diasystem are whatever the linguist decides they ought to be.

Another look at the definition of the 'variety' reveals something more. The key points are 1) that the body be 'sufficiently homogeneous' (let us call this internal homogeneity), and 2) that it have 'a sufficiently large repertory of elements' (fullness of structure). Now, the other side of internal homogeneity is external distinctiveness: the body of speech patterns must also differ from all related systems sufficiently to establish its individuality and autonomous categorization. The combination of internal homogeneity/external diversity and fullness of structure in the delineation of varieties is practically identical to the combination of *abstand* and *ausbau* criteria posited by Kloss for languages.<sup>19</sup>

The fact is that these criteria are applicable to the classification of anything, be it speech, people, plants, or numbers. The ideal class contains items whose similarity is meaningful, and excludes mere arbitrary resemblances; furthermore, the class must be full enough to serve some designated purpose. Classification, if it is to be more than a game, requires thorough pragmatic justification.

The universality of these criteria does not make them any less valuable for the linguist -- but it is good that he view his methods of classification in their full perspective.

### 3.3. The idiolectal continuum

No matter how meticulously the linguist defines his variety or diasystem, any two speakers (if subjected to sufficiently microscopic examination) are bound to exhibit differences -- regular, consistent

differences -- in their production of a given variety. Even the individual speaker's output varies from one utterance to the next.

This realization has prompted twentieth-century linguists to conceive the idiolect, defined as the '... totality of the possible utterances of one speaker at one time in using the language to interact with one speaker.'<sup>20</sup> Clearly, the nature of the rapprochement between idiolect and standardization (the latter being a process aimed largely at limiting individual variation) is of paramount importance.

The 'idiolect' is not a linguistic classification parallel to variety, diasystem, dialect, or language. The inherent discrepancy is that the speaker's 'totality of possible utterances' includes elements from many distinct systems; in a single sentence, one may have recourse to a number of different varieties, even to unrelated languages.<sup>21</sup> The repertoire of a given speaker might be diagrammed as follows:

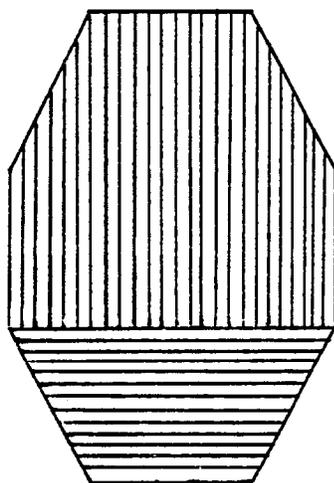


Fig. 1.

The vertically and horizontally lined areas represent two distinct diasystems (e.g., a Romance and an American Indian language) in which the subject is able to function. Within each diasystem, it is likely that he controls a number of varieties that he uses under particular circumstances and with particular interlocutors. As noted above, there are no absolute criteria for variety division; the repertoire actually consists of a continuum of code variations. The linguist, of course, will separate varieties as he sees fits:

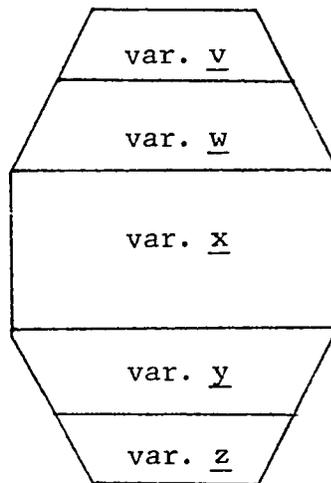


Fig. 2

I have chosen the shape of this design for a particular reason. We cannot expect the speaker to control all the varieties within his repertoire equally well. In my schematization, the size of the compartment corresponds to the speaker's degree of proficiency in that variety. Perhaps v, w, and x represent his mother tongue, while y and z were learned later in life.

Most people are able to use a diversity of codes; the ones we command best are those to which we have the most exposure within our

contact group, particularly in the early period of intense speech habit formation. One particular variety is also certain to dominate our experience, and this is the one that will be most natural, most 'native' to us.<sup>22</sup> I shall refer to this as the speaker's focal variety; it occupies the central and largest position in the repertoire diagram.<sup>23</sup>

Comparing the repertoires of two persons who have regular communication with each other, and applying the same classificatory criteria to the common portion of their continua, one might derive an example such as the following:

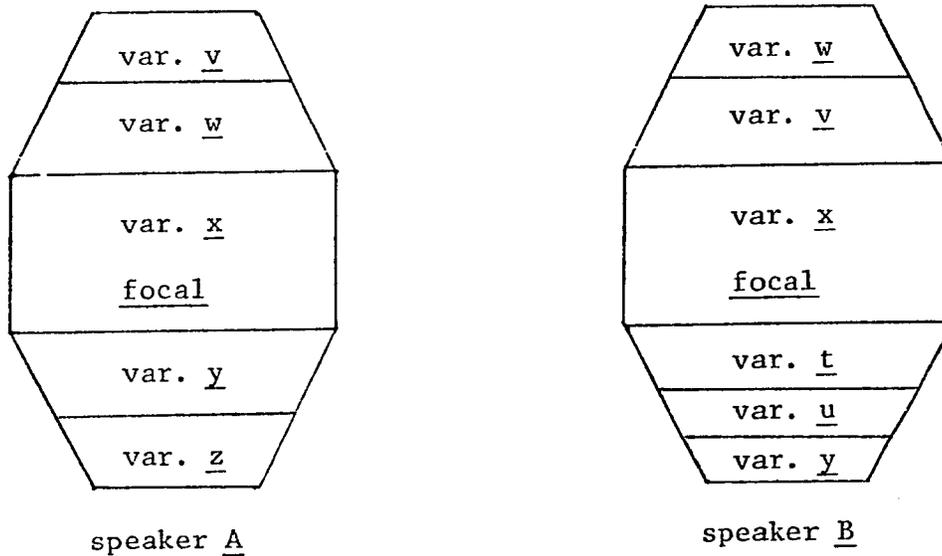


Fig. 3

A is more fluent in w than is B; B is more fluent in v than is A. If v, w, and x belong to, say, the Zuni diasystem, and A also knows two varieties of Spanish (y and z), then perhaps B knows a little Spanish (y), a bit more English (u), and can converse in a Zuni variety (t) that A has not learned.

It should be evident from earlier statements that what is labelled

'variety x' in A's repertoire cannot be identical with what is labelled 'variety x' in B's. They are labelled identically because they fulfill the same arbitrary criteria; different or more detailed criteria might displace the division.

The 'idiolectal repertoire' is important for linguistic classification and for studies of standardization because language begins with the individual speaker. Varieties, dialects, languages, and diasystems are all abstractions generalized from the idiosyncratic usage of individual persons. In fact, even the idiolect is an abstraction; the only 'reality' is the individual speech act.<sup>24</sup> But the making of cogent generalizations is the goal of all science, and the speech act is too low a level of abstraction to serve my present purpose.

#### 3.4. Synecdoche

What we call 'variety x' is, at one level, the totality of elements contained in the segments defined by the variety x criteria within the repertoires of all persons able to use the code. This includes not only 'focal' speakers, like A and B, but non-focal speakers like C as well:

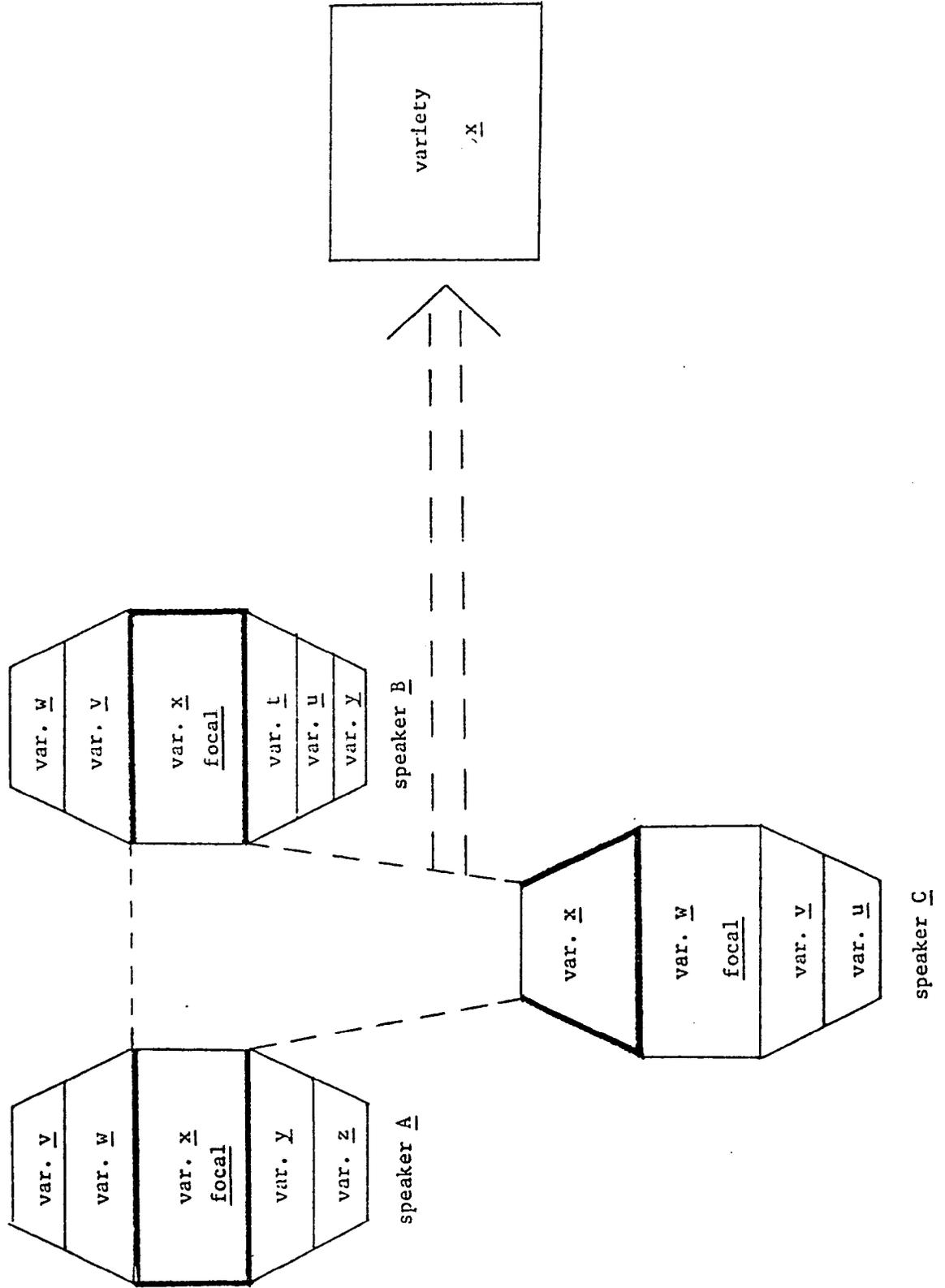


Fig. 4

'Diasystem x', 'dialect x', and 'language x' are constructed in the same way, when viewed at this level of analysis.

Clearly, however, the variety conceived as the totality of all speakers' regularly-employed elements within the classifying criteria is bound to reveal high internal heterogeneity. The deviant usage of non-focal speakers contributes an especially large number of variant elements.<sup>25</sup> Even the focal speaker's output may be influenced by the structure of other varieties in his repertoire.<sup>26</sup>

Actually, however, what both linguist and layman label 'dialect x' and 'language x' and what the linguist terms 'variety x' and 'diasystem x', does not usually comprise this totality. Some elements of everyone's usage, focal speakers included, are regarded not as an integral part of the defined system, but rather as divergent from it. Implicitly, there is at work, even at this primary classificational stage, a tendency to establish norms of majority or acceptable usage -- a subject to be treated in considerable detail in Chapter Seven. The result is that the classificatory terminology acquires a double meaning; 'variety x' may indicate either the totality:

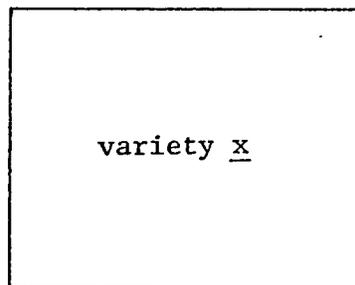


Fig. 5

or the selected elements only:

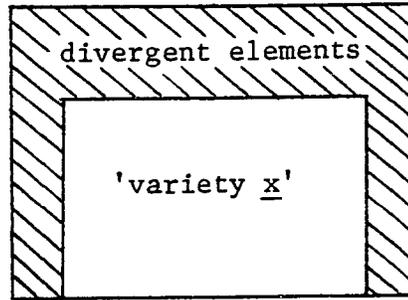


Fig. 6

The next step is perhaps the most crucial. It resembles a particular procedure within phonemic analysis, when, having sorted his allophones into phonemic units, the linguist selects one of those allophones to be the symbol for the entire group. If he finds that [s ṣ z ẓ ʃ ʒ χ ʁ] constitute a single emic unit, he may choose [s] as primary, most basic, or merely simplest to write, and indicate the phoneme as /s/. Once he has done so, /s/ ceases to be just a representative of the unit; /s/ is the 'phoneme', therefore /s/ is the unit. The 'part' has undergone an ontological shift and become the 'whole'.

Similarly, those variety x elements remaining after the 'divergent' elements have been separated -- indicated in the diagram above by the absence of diagonal lines -- come to stand for the variety as a whole, and eventually to be identified as the variety. The divergent elements, once part of the system, now lie outside it.

I have chosen to call this process synecdoche, borrowing a term from classical poetics for a figura in which the part takes the place of the whole. Viewing the previous diagram three-dimensionally, one

may consider this process as an 'elevation' of the synecdochic segment, along with a 'recession' and detachment of the divergent:<sup>27</sup>

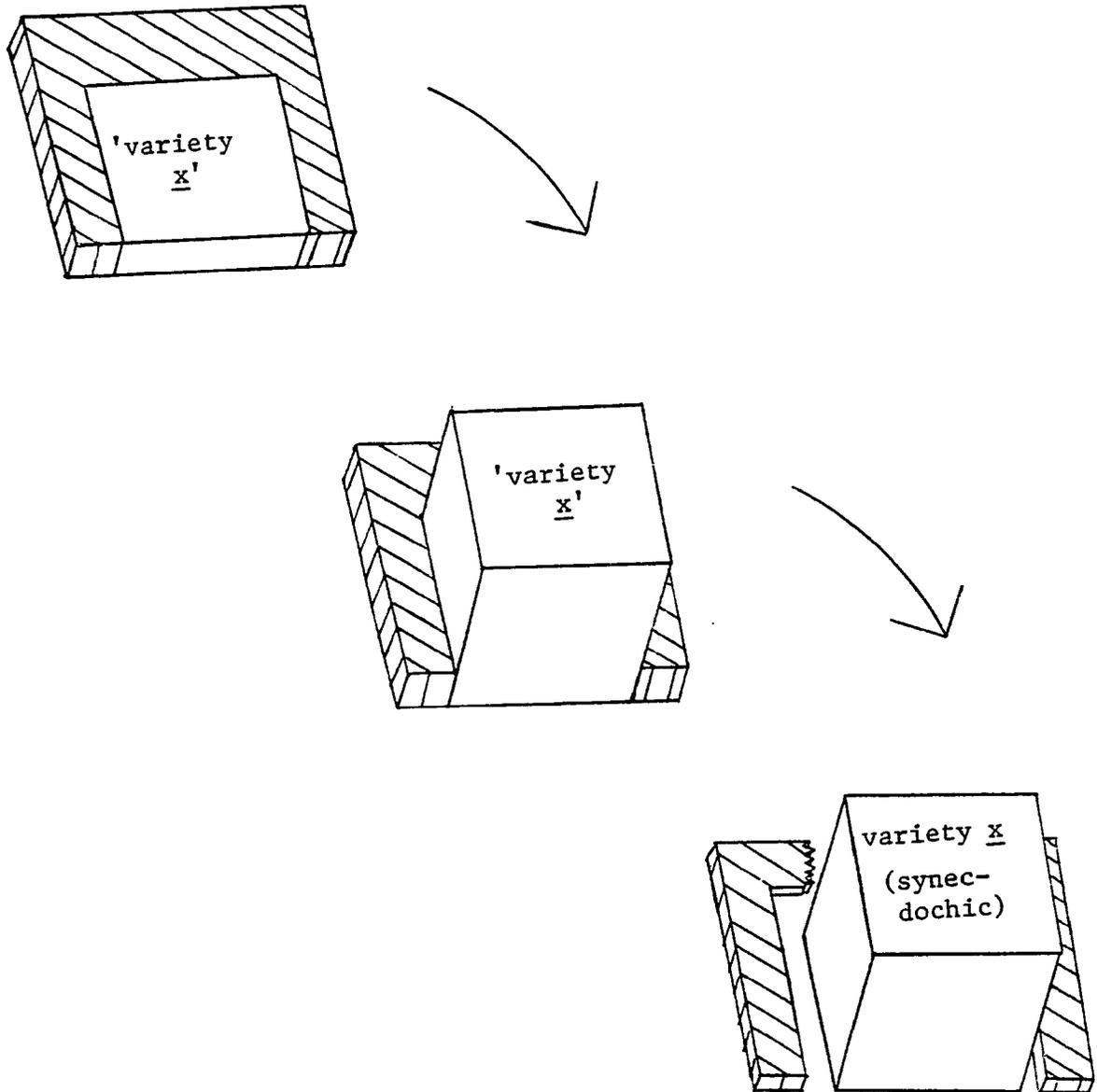


Fig. 7

At the 'popular' levels of classification, dialect and language, synecdoche occurs under precisely the same mechanism, but with different motivation and effect.

Let us suppose that a particular 'regional' dialect overlies six 'local' dialects, each of them roughly coterminous with a county within the region:

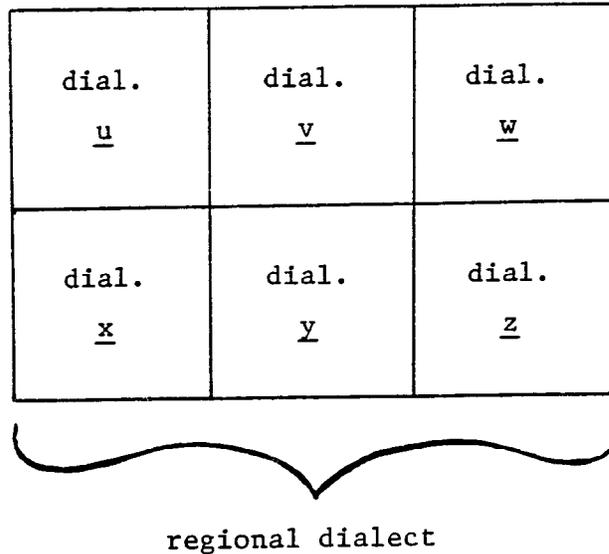


Fig. 8

Linguistic considerations momentarily aside, it is well nigh impossible for those six counties to be equal in prestige and power. They will vary in population and in wealth; in the fertility of the soil, the presence of rivers and other bodies of water; natural resources; and in the establishment of cities, industries, and so forth. But the most obvious discrepancy is that one and only one of the counties contains the region's capital. The presence of a capital forces a sort of political centralization and a concentration of 'civilizing institutions' upon an area.

Some or all of the factors just named are certain to lead one of the region's local dialects to emerge as *primus inter pares*. This is the dialect that will be put to use in any functions in which the entire region is concerned. It will be the vehicle of all broadcasting

and publication (including, most importantly, a newspaper) aimed at the regional audience.

It may also be felt as best suited for use in elementary education and church sermons throughout the region. All these functions will further enhance its prominence.

The effect of this whole process may be schematized as follows, again tilting the figure in order to view it in three dimensions:

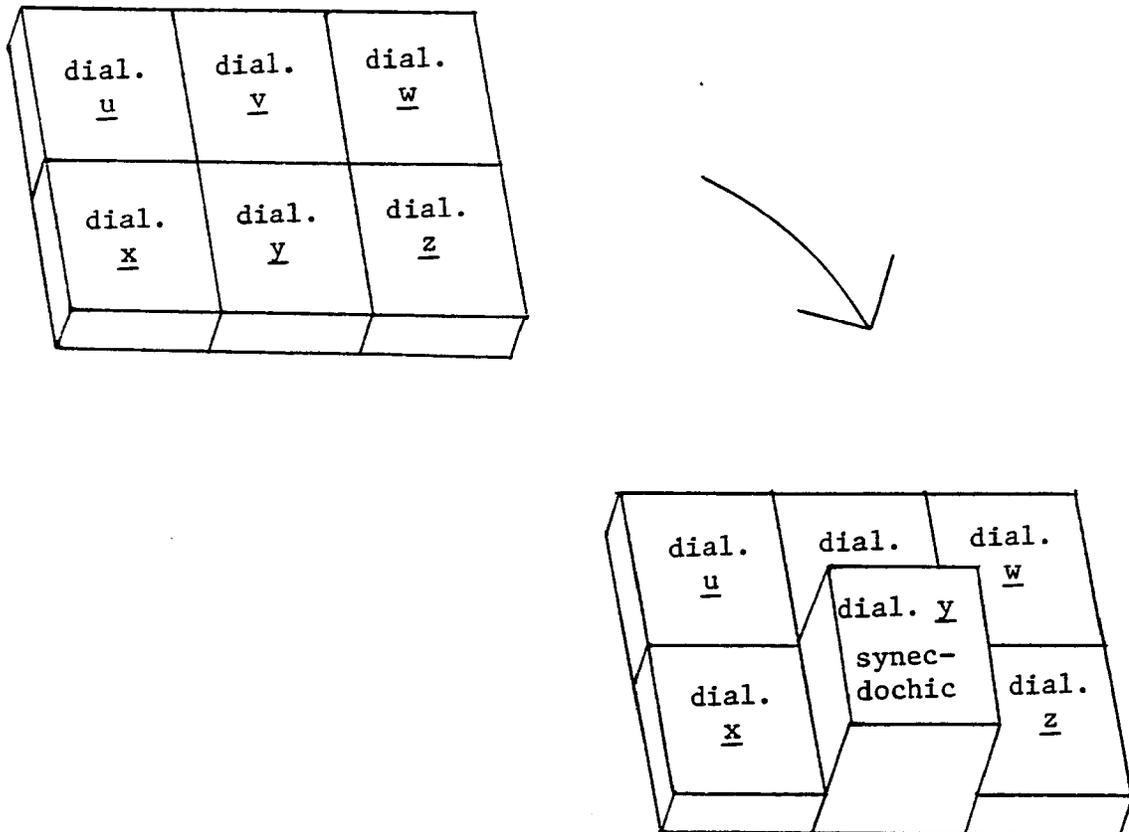


Fig. 9

Not only does dialect y come to dominate; it may also give its name to the entire regional dialect -- a symbol of its synecdochic status. Now there is recognized one 'dialect', with local variants or 'sub-dialects':

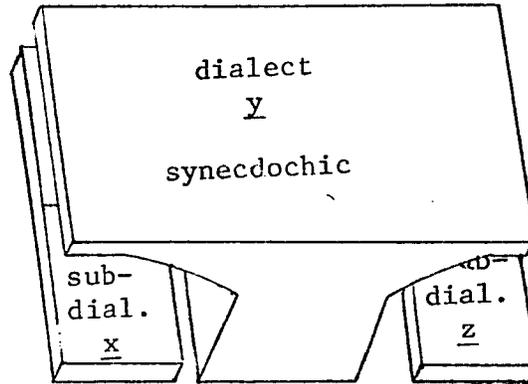


Fig. 10

Of course, it is synecdoche at the language level that is of the greatest concern here, for the dialect that emerges as synecdochic within the bounds of a given language will go on to become the basis of its standard. Synecdoche is the first step in the standardization process.

The chosen dialect may be 'geographic' or 'social', spoken by many people or by few. The mechanism of its 'rise' is identical to that of synecdoche within the dialect; hence the following diagram differs from the preceding one only in the labelling:

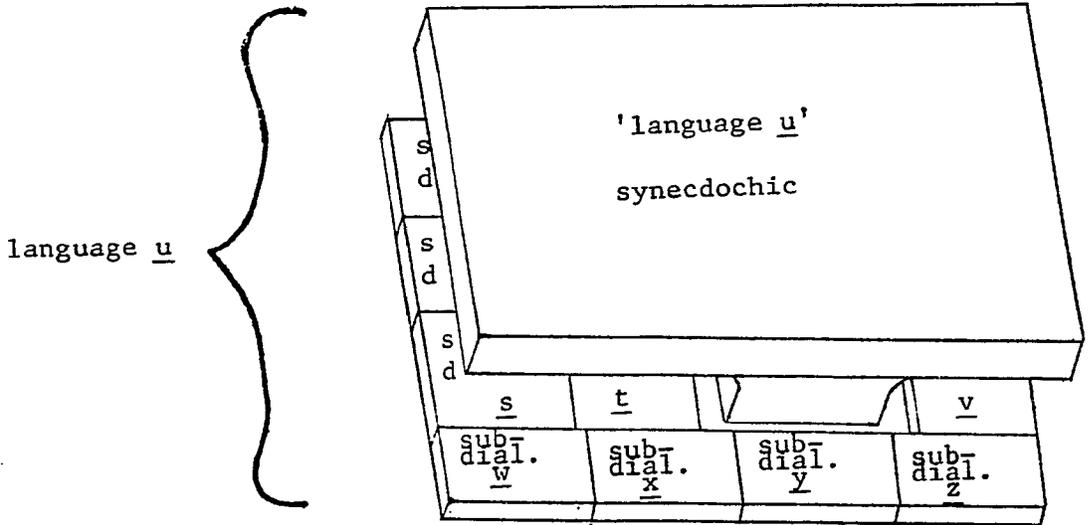
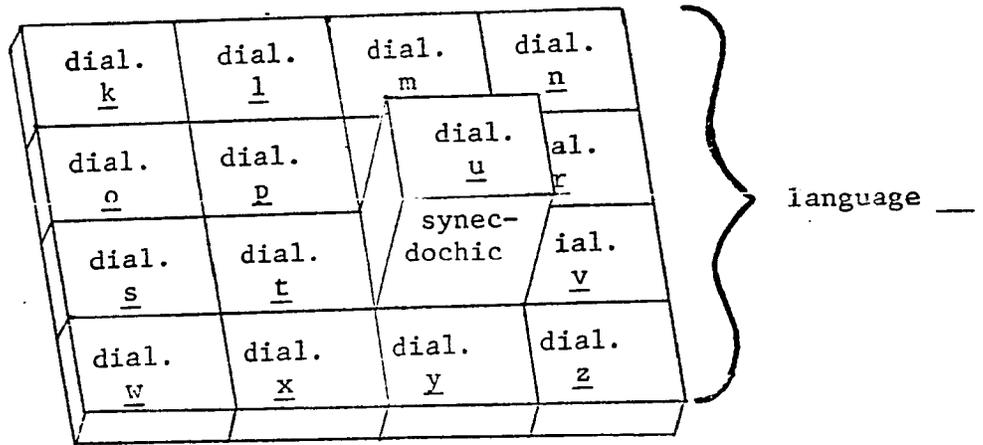
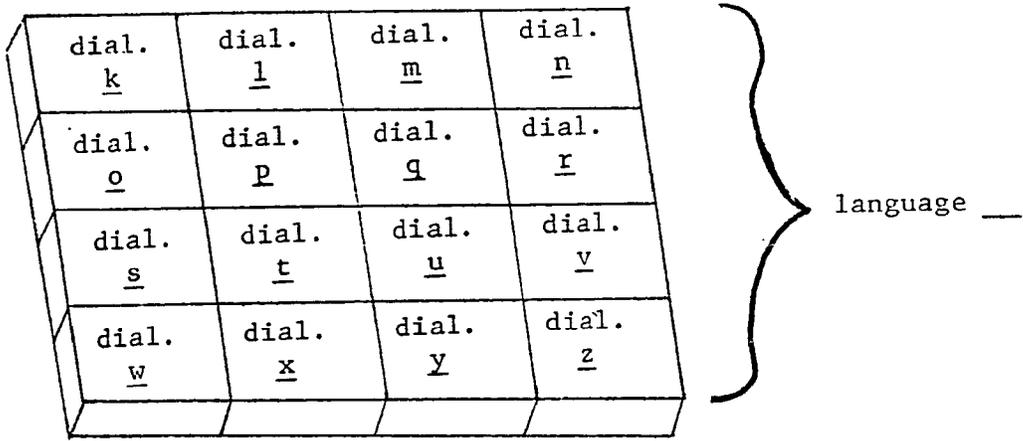


Fig. 11

Notes to Chapter 3

<sup>1</sup>Linguists have never stopped trying to find measurable criteria on which the division of languages could be predicted. Whether these criteria were mutual intelligibility (cf. Voegelin and Harris 1951), structural similarity (cf. Agard 1971), or a combination of the two (cf. Ferguson and Gumperz 1960: 5), all have proved fruitless. Success will only come when all the pertinent criteria, linguistic and extralinguistic, are subjected to the degree of scientific rigor demonstrated by Voegelin, Harris, and Agard.

<sup>2</sup>Kloss 1978: 24-25.

<sup>3</sup>Kloss 1967: 29.

<sup>4</sup>The most notable of these features are, for Andalusian, the persistence of aspirate /h/ and the seseo and ceceo phenomena; for Asturian, again the aspirate /h/ (Eastern Asturias) or even retention of P*Rom* initial /f/ (Asturias de Oviedo), preservation of P*Rom* initial /j/ (as /š/), palatalization of P*Rom* initial /l/ (lluna, llingua), -oriu > -oiru, diphthongization of mid-vowels even before palatals, P*Rom* final /o/ as [u] in masculine singular substantives, use of -ra forms as pluperfect indicative, -oron as 3 pl. preterite, and diphthongization in the paradigm of seyer 'to be' (yes, ye, vera, etc.). (Entwistle 1962: 216-224, 224-228).

<sup>5</sup>Kloss 1978: 25.

<sup>6</sup>Kloss 1967: 31.

<sup>7</sup>Kloss 1967: 29.

<sup>8</sup>Kloss 1978: 25.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Martinet 1954: 8.

<sup>10</sup>Only rarely, and usually with political motivation, will anyone deny that Catalan is a 'language'; cf. Martinet 1954: 8.

<sup>11</sup>I anglicize 'abstand' and 'ausbau' after the precedent of Kloss 1967.

<sup>12</sup>Wolff 1959.

<sup>13</sup>On the semantic tangle of German Dialekt and Mundart, and the collapse of Jakob Grimm's proposed distinction between the two, see Henzen 1954: 12-13; Keller 1961: 5.

<sup>14</sup>On the chimerical distinction of 'regional dialect' and 'regional language', see Joseph 1980.

<sup>15</sup>A society's avant-garde may hail from various locations, but (if only by virtue of profession) they belong to a relatively limited range of social classes -- never the lowest, seldom the highest (acculturation is very hard work, after all).

<sup>16</sup>It is important to note that 'social' and 'geographical' dialects (or, if you will, 'sociolects' and 'regiolects') do not constitute two different linguistic classes. A dialect is a dialect; 'geographical' and 'social' merely convey secondary information about the associated speech community. 'Other things being equal, the more frequently speakers A and C of language X communicate with each other by means of X, the more the varieties of X spoken by them will tend to become identical. It follows from this that isoglosses will tend to coincide with breaks or lines of weakness in communication.' (Ferguson and Gumperz 1960: 8).

<sup>17</sup>Ferguson and Gumperz 1960: 3.

<sup>18</sup>Weinreich 1954: 390. Pulgram (1975: 50) notes that the diasystem is 'not an actual language or dialect, but a statement on the collective condition of dialects which the linguist deems suitable for combination, or classification, under a single name ... '.

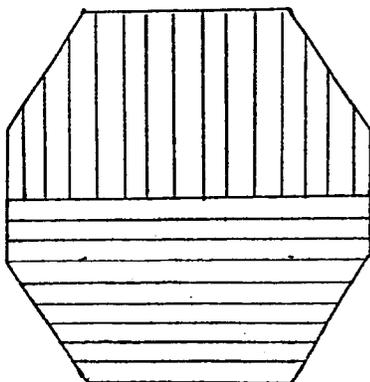
<sup>19</sup>Cf. Joseph 1980: 131-132.

<sup>20</sup>Bloch 1948: 7.

<sup>21</sup>For an overview of 'code-switching' and related problems, see Bell 1976: 110-144.

<sup>22</sup>I should point out that the word 'native', when used to describe linguistic usage, is intended figuratively; no language is truly 'native' to any speaker, in the sense that he is 'born' with any special capacity or proclivity for it.

<sup>23</sup>The repertoire of a co-ordinate bilingual would appear as follows:



<sup>24</sup>Cf. Pulgram 1964: 71-72.

<sup>25</sup>Cf. Havránek 1929: 112-113.

<sup>26</sup>This is a restatement of Weinreich's theory of 'languages in contact' (see Weinreich 1953: 1-2). This model is now widely accepted as valid for many types of linguistic change (cf. Bynon 1977: 216).

<sup>27</sup>The metaphor of upward and downward motion applies only to prestige and status, and in no way to the functional range or linguistic structure of the system.

## CHAPTER FOUR: EMERGENCE OF THE SYNECDOCHIC DIALECT

### 4.1. Selection of the dialect

The emergence of a single synecdochic dialect within a given language is to be expected. Since the synecdochic dialect is the language in popular opinion, the presence of two or more 'consubstantial' synecdochic systems for the same language would necessitate explanation only slightly less intricate than the Trinitarian doctrine. Furthermore, the possession of one common code is required for 'normal, easy and efficient' communication in a society.<sup>1</sup>

Why and how the chosen dialect becomes the 'language' in most people's minds -- and why this phenomenon is so widespread as to be 'universal' among civilized peoples --<sup>2</sup> is puzzling. However, in all class-structured societies (i.e., in any group of two or more persons), certain patterns of behavior come to be regarded as admirable, then as preferable, and ultimately as 'right', to the exclusion of any alternative patterns (which are subsequently characterized as 'substandard').

Which of the dialects within a language becomes synecdochic depends on a multitude of factors, many of them related or similar to the factors that cause a local dialect to achieve synecdoche within a region.

Within any language demarcated by *abstand* and *ausbau* criteria, one may find numerous dialects that may be identified according to the geographical provenance, social level, and flourishing period of the speakers for whom they are focal.<sup>3</sup> Any one of these dialects may, theoretically, become synecdochic. In Iceland, for example, the

prestigious standard language is based on the dialect focal to lower-class rural speakers, thought to be close to the focal dialects of upper-class speakers of a more remote era.<sup>4</sup> In this case, the synecdochic dialect's 'classical' nature gives it more prestige than even current upper-class usage.

Note my wording: Standard Icelandic is based on dialect x. Once a language undergoes standardization, it is never the same as the spoken synecdochic dialect that underlies it.<sup>5</sup>

Although in theory it is possible for any dialect to become synecdochic within a given language, in reality it is those with prestige that are generally found in this position. Apart from rare exceptions (e.g., Iceland), the prestigious dialect is the one focal to the people with power and prestige in a given society. In social and geographical terms, this usually means 'upper-class' and 'urban'; in temporal terms, often somewhat pre-contemporary. Kratochvíl, comparing Modern Standard Chinese with the Western languages, remarks that '... the main similarity is in basing the standard on the educated variant of the area traditionally considered central in the political and cultural sense ...'<sup>6</sup> By 'educated variant', he implies that the synecdochic dialect is focal (or near-focal) to a group practiced in the ways of written language; as I will discuss in the final chapter, this may partly account for the temporal displacement of numerous standard languages.

Political (including military) and cultural factors play their role in the possession of prestige; but equally important are economic, racial, and religious considerations. On the other hand, the sheer number of people in a group is of little account.<sup>7</sup>

Why do 'prestige' dialects tend to become synecdochic? This question cannot be answered without an examination of both focal speakers' and outsiders' feelings and opinions toward the language undergoing synecdoche, for it is in these feelings and opinions that the process is manifested. To whatever extent people are conscious of their behavior patterns, they emulate the ways of those whom they consider prestigious. They even believe that this 'better' behavior is right, and that their own habits are a corruption of it. This is precisely how people whose focal speech is classified within language x, but is not the synecdochic dialect, feel about 'standard' x and about their own linguistic behavior. As for outsiders (speakers of language y), if they are to go through the trouble of learning x, there must be some strong motivation, likely connected with an enhancement of their personal prestige. Under the circumstances, they would be foolish if they sought to learn anything other than the prestige dialect.

Ray defines linguistic prestige as 'imitation-worthiness'. He calls the focal speakers of the synecdochic dialect (i.e., the imitation-worthy) the lead, while the larger group of people who follow the 'lead', replacing their own focal linguistic forms with the lead's more prestigious ones, is termed the spread. The lead is further characterized by its degree of access, that is, '... the measure of the opportunity of the users of the language to learn the actual and habitual practice of the lead'; and by its drift, '... the power potential of the lead for spread, that is, the joint measure of the prestige and the access of the lead.'<sup>8</sup> It is important to note that a lead with insufficient access is unlikely to spread, no matter how high its prestige.<sup>9</sup>

The analyst must be careful not to assume that his own society's

concept of linguistic prestige is universally valid. As Nader suggests, '... we should consider a more refined description of what constitutes prestige in particular cases ... In Paris we would not expect to find Parisians wishing to emulate a French dialect spoken in the provinces. On the other hand upper-class male Spaniards might wish to imitate the Spanish spoken by the bull-herders because this is considered more virile ...'<sup>10</sup> The 'lead' in the latter example, however, probably does not possess sufficient 'access' to produce effective 'spread'.

Geographic factors, in and of themselves, seldom play any significant part in the creation of prestige, though indirectly they can affect the economic status of a society (arability of the homeland, its suitability for shipping and fishing, the presence of valuable minerals, etc.), hence its military prestige as well. Kratochvíl's remark (quoted above) concerning the 'area traditionally considered central in the political and cultural sense' now brings in a secondary question -- how and why do prestige factors tend to gravitate toward specific 'areas'? -- that perhaps requires an answer from the sociologist rather than the sociolinguist. Until that answer comes, we must concentrate not on 'areas' but on groups, on 'leads' and 'spreads', and on the various kinds of prestige they possess or lack.

Kuhn's assertion -- that geographic and linguistic non-centrality prevent peripheral dialects from becoming synecdochic within a given language --<sup>11</sup> is, then, at least half dubious. He cites the examples of Picard-Walloon, Gascon, and Venetian, all of which could meet the *abstand* and *ausbau* criteria for languages; but because of their spatial eccentricity, he supposes, they could not have become more than regionally-confined literary dialects. Even had Luther's Bible translation

(generally credited with establishing a central German dialect as synecdochic) been carried out in an extremely low German dialect, Kuhn believes it would not have hindered the emergence of Standard German in the central region.<sup>12</sup>

Yet Kuhn himself provides a fine counter-example, an 'exception' which he felt proved the rule -- but which in fact proves the rule false: Castilian, considered by Kuhn to have originated as the dialect of an insignificant Cantabrian march, eccentric both geographically and linguistically (due to such developments as F->h->Ø, -KT->-tš-, -K'L->-X-), rose to synecdochic position within the Spanish language on the strength of the political prestige of the speakers for whom it was focal.<sup>13</sup> Enough other examples (including British English) can be cited to show that Kuhn's view is a shallow, albeit striking, over-generalization, based on the (insufficiently studied) sociological gravitation of prestige factors (manifested as national capitals, etc.) toward the geographic center of a society or nation.<sup>14</sup>

In reality, synecdoche most often occurs with dialects focal to particular social strata, which may or may not inhabit particular geographical areas. Thus: 'The Common Language is often in a marked degree a class-language, an upper-class language';<sup>15</sup> 'According to Vossler the language of Old French literary works never had an exclusively local colour, the writer's social position and calling having a greater influence on his handling of language than his place of origin.'<sup>16</sup> As I will show in Chapter Seven, part of the standardization process is the effacement of local idiosyncracies from the synecdochic dialect. Standard languages are regularly described in terms of 'non-locality', a combined result of the 'control' process they undergo and the fact

that they are based on social dialects which frequently transcend local boundaries.<sup>17</sup>

Kuhn's second assertion, that a dialect must be linguistically central within the language in order to emerge as synecdochic, is also of questionable validity. Linguistic centrality implies that the dialect divisions within a language result from the fragmentation of a single earlier proto-language. A linguistically central dialect is one that has undergone the historical changes from the proto-language shared by the majority of dialects, but shows a minimal number of non-majority, idiosyncratic changes. This means, in general, that the 'central' dialect is conservative.<sup>18</sup> Yet many standard languages are known to be based on a very innovative synecdochic dialect (e.g., the 'major' Romance languages: Castilian Spanish, Parisian French, Tuscan Italian);<sup>19</sup> or on synecdochic dialects that have undergone considerable influence from another language (e.g., Rumanian, based on a dialect which underwent stronger Greek and French influence than did others within the language;<sup>20</sup> also Swahili, with a standard extraordinarily open to Arabic infusion);<sup>21</sup> or even on synecdochic dialects much more conservative than the rest, thus closer to the proto-language but in no way 'central' from a synchronic view (e.g., Arabic and Katharevousa Greek). One may conclude that the linguistic centrality Kuhn perceived among standard languages is actually a product or byproduct of the standardization process rather than a prerequisite for synecdoche.<sup>22</sup>

A related question remains, however. Can a dialect's internal linguistic structure, in and of itself, ever endow it with a type of prestige that will help prompt it to synecdoche? The answer seems to be: yes, occasionally. In the vast majority of cases it is the speakers'

prestige or lack of prestige, of whatever kind, that is the deciding factor. But we have already seen the example of Icelandic, whose norm became synecdochic because of its closeness to the medieval literary language, in spite of the fact that it was focal to an otherwise non-prestigious group of people. Pulgram believes that the rise of Tuscan was facilitated by its structural proximity (compared with other Italian dialects) to Classical Latin.<sup>23</sup> Fellman attributes the emergence of Sephardic as the basis of Standard Modern Hebrew in part to its being 'closer to the internal grammatical structure (morpho phonemics) [sic] of Hebrew than the Ashkenazic system ...'.<sup>24</sup>

Synecdoche applies to the language, not to the nation; the analogous process in which a single dialect must be chosen for nationalistic purposes within a political unit is called language choice. This involves selecting a 'national language' from among a number of synecdochic dialects representing unrelated languages, as is the case in many new African states. Even more problematic is the situation of those countries containing numerous tribal languages so far from standardization that no synecdochic dialects have yet emerged. In many of these cases, synecdoche (hence standardized language) is impeded by the presence of a 'model' culture's standardized language with strong international prestige. Thus many African languages' attempts to rise and regularize are made both on the model of and under the heel of French and English -- whose own standardization was retarded for centuries by the continued use of Latin in their countries of origin.

When two or more dialects within the same language, roughly equal in prestige, emerge simultaneously as candidates for synecdoche, or when a synecdochic dialect must compete with an older (often colonial) standard language, or when both situations are underway at the same time

(as is often the case), the controversy is traditionally called a questione della lingua -- a term borrowed from the language in which the longest and most famous such dispute was waged, Italian.<sup>25</sup> Hall points out that a questione della lingua becomes protracted without resolution ' ... only when the political, economic and social factors involved remain stagnant ... ';<sup>26</sup> in other words, when there is no drastic change in the prestige distribution, such that one dialect is able to emerge uncontested.

#### 4.2. Circumstantial and engineered emergence

Few standard languages have arisen without at least a mild questione erupting. English, although it had to contend with Norman French and Latin as well as a few rival Germanic dialects, came forth with relative calm on the strength of its focal speakers' prestige, without any long or heated debate or machination by rival linguistic factions; the same seems to be true of Icelandic,<sup>27</sup> Chinese,<sup>28</sup> and Japanese,<sup>29</sup> to cite a few well-studied examples. In these cases, a synecdochic dialect arose as a byproduct of non-linguistic prestige factors, without the need for heated campaigning by its speakers. I shall refer to this halcyon state of affairs as circumstantial emergence.

When, on the other hand, a bitter questione della lingua comes to the point of stalemate, the partisans of each dialect must take strong measures to promote their candidate over its rivals. I shall call such measures engineered emergence. A splendidly documented example may be found in Close's study of the rise of Standard Rumanian.<sup>30</sup> Among recently acculturating societies, questioni and engineering are characteristic of former British, and not French colonies.<sup>31</sup>

Another type of engineered emergence is the choosing of a synecdochic dialect for a community in which none has shown signs of arising. Examples abound: St Stefan of Perm, in the fourteenth century, undertook singlehandedly to standardize his native Komi, a Uralic language, whose several thousand speakers were illiterate. 'He chose as the basis for its standard the dialect whose speakers had the greatest contact with the Christianizing culture.'<sup>32</sup> William Carey, a non-native, did the same for Bengali,<sup>33</sup> as have countless other missionaries whose efforts have gone unrecorded and unheralded. The absence of a synecdochic dialect is more characteristic of former French than British colonies;<sup>34</sup> the manifold difficulties of establishing a synecdochic form of Haitian Creole have been detailed by Valdman.<sup>35</sup>

A second type of engineered emergence is the creation of a synecdochic dialect for a community in which none has arisen. This often seems desirable in nations fragmented by intense factionalism, where no sect is in the majority and the choice of any one sect's dialect would throw the others into revolt.<sup>36</sup> Ibo and Shona are standard languages created (at least in part) by the conscious selection of elements from various dialects, for political reasons.<sup>37</sup> An alternative or additional motivation may be the desire for an 'historical reconstruction' of the 'proto-language' from all available dialects (such as a linguist would make), in the belief that this 'proto-language' will distill the essence of the (now diluted) national spirit. This was Aasen's purpose in devising a new, Danish-free Standard Norwegian ('Landsmaal') from a number of rural dialects.<sup>38</sup>

The artificial creation of an 'international language' (see 4.3. below) falls into the same category -- it is intended for use in a

'community' (the world) which lacks a common tongue.

But no artificial language intended for general human communication, nor any of the created standards named above, has proved successful in the long run.<sup>39</sup> I feel that linguists studying language standardization have given too much attention to these freak cases, as though they were the ultimate object of research rather than a source of information about the 'normal' process. It is mainly in the latter capacity that their interest lies -- or rather, lay, for this particular mine of insights is now quite nearly exhausted.

If we examine the histories of Standard French and Spanish, we find that both arose more or less through circumstantial emergence, but that before the synecdochic dialect was securely fixed, a questione della lingua broke open. Partisans of Francien and Castilian performed heroic feats of engineering that may or may not have actually aided their dialect's rise. Castilian would not have become standard if the Leonese had led the reconquista; but could it have gained primacy without the backing of the Poema de Mio Cid or the chancelry of Toledo? This is an unanswerable question, meant only to demonstrate that there are borderline cases between circumstantial and engineered emergence; in the present instance, however, I would feel secure in assigning both French and Spanish to the former category.

How does one go about engineering the emergence of a synecdochic dialect? By bringing about an increase in prestige, either of its speakers or of the dialect itself. Certainly, if a community can at least be made to seem more politically, militarily, economically, or culturally powerful, its prestige will increase and its dialect will have

a better chance of becoming synecdochic. But the prestige per se is more valuable to a community than is the synecdochic status of its dialect, and I cannot realistically believe that anyone would pursue prestige with the ultimate goal of improving his linguistic status. On the contrary, people improve their linguistic status in order to further their prestige. Any rise of a synecdochic dialect that is connected with the prestige of its speakers should therefore be considered a case of circumstantial emergence. It follows, then, that engineered emergence must be directed at the dialect itself.

There are two routes that may be followed. First, one may attempt to make the dialect more 'internally' prestigious, by putting it through certain post-synecdoche standardization processes : elaboration, control, codification. Secondly, one can make it more 'functionally' prestigious, by putting it to use in the 'civilized' functions, the 'standard-language' functions -- the prestige functions.

Of questionable value are the 'defenses' of the dialect, the pamphlets and books that inevitably accompany an emerging or a would-be standard, proclaiming its virtues; it has yet to be determined whether or to what degree they are effective in enhancing the dialect's prestige. Certainly, any success would be dependent upon, among other things, the number and the status of people to whom the defense is circulated, as well as the prestige of its author or authors.

The only other way to bring about engineered emergence is by force -- guns or legislation. The latter is more commonly employed, with examples as early as François I's edict at Villers-Cotterets (1539), which extended by fiat the community over which Parisian French would be synecdochic. Yet in this example as elsewhere, if a given body has

legislative or military force behind it, then, ipso facto, it has prestige, and given time its dialect is likely to emerge as the standard anyway.<sup>40</sup>

Finally, the importance of enthusiasm for the dialect among its body of focal speakers must be noted. Enthusiasm alone is not sufficient to propel the dialect to synecdoche, but lack of it may sometimes prevent an otherwise viable standard from emerging.<sup>41</sup>

#### 4.3. On 'reduced' systems

A special note must be made concerning various categories of languages which, as a result of some unusual feature of their formation, are considered structurally 'reduced'.

Artificial languages include 'international' or 'universal' tongues such as Esperanto, Interlingua, and Volapük; 'reconstructed' languages such as Landsmaal; and any 'scientific' and 'computer' languages that are not simply a recodification of some existing 'natural' system. With the artificial language, there is no need for a synecdochic dialect to emerge. What the creator brings forth is intended as a unitary whole -- though the incompleteness of this 'whole' is sure to become evident shortly after it is put to use. Like any other standard language, and to a far greater degree than most 'natural' systems, the artificial language will need to undergo continuous controlled elaboration. One might therefore characterize artificial languages as systems that begin the standardization process in mid-stream.

Pidgins are formed by a process having certain affinities with both the creation of an artificial language and the control process of standardization. Nevertheless, if a certain European language has been

transplanted overseas and pidginized over an extensive population, eventually resulting in structural variation; and if linguistically diverse segments of this population come under a single unit of loyalty; then it is entirely possible for one of the pidgin dialects to become synecdochic and to continue through the rest of the standardization process just like any 'natural' dialect. The standardizing pidgin resembles the artificial language, however, in that the 'control' process has little import except as a guard against excess in elaboration.

Creoles are not 'reduced' systems, hence proceed normally through standardization.

A particular problem arises with the terms lingua franca and koine. These originated as designations of the function or circumstance in which a language serves, with no implications regarding its structure. Indeed they may still be used in this way: if a Spaniard, meeting a Turk, converses with him in Albanian because it is the only language they have in common, then Albanian is called the lingua franca or koine in this situation. If a language is used for such intercommunication daily among large numbers of speakers -- as the Attic dialect was throughout Alexander's empire in the Hellenistic period -- it may acquire the title koine as a permanent fixture. A language that serves in the function of a koine over a broad, multilingual population is likely to undergo standardization in something of a 'special' way; but this specialness is a matter of degree, not kind -- for, as I shall discuss in the following chapter, every standard language serves as a koine or lingua franca in some measure.

If the koine or lingua franca is differentiated somewhat in its

standardization, nevertheless every language so designated may also be classified as 'natural', 'artificial', or 'pidgin', based on the manner in which it emerged. 'Koine' and 'lingua franca', at least originally, bore no reference to emergence, only to function. Any language, however it emerged, could serve as a koine.

But confusion between the 'emergence' and the 'function' terms began early on, the result of faulty linguistic theory, and it has not abated to this day. The most widespread misconception was that certain 'koinés' that had emerged through regular synecdoche of a 'natural' dialect were believed instead to be artificial languages. Most of the blame for fostering this fallacy may be laid to one man, Dante Alighieri -- though he is only indirectly responsible.

In De vulgari eloquentia (1.16-19), Dante wrote of the need for a volgare illustre, a 'common core' Italian dialect with all local traits peeled away. He believed that by comparing the various dialects of a given region or nation and extracting what was shared by them all, one might arrive at an idiom fit for use in the highest functions. The value of this theory is debatable, but there is nothing intrinsically 'wrong' about it; certainly Aasen's creation of Landsmaal five-and-a-half centuries later was realized along very similar lines.<sup>42</sup>

How successfully Dante carried out his theory is irrelevant here (in fact, the language employed in the Divina Commedia is clearly no volgare illustre but a standardized form of his native Florentine).<sup>43</sup> What matters is that his successors, including Petrarch and Boccaccio, believed that his language represented the volgare illustre and took it up in their own works, expanding both its internal structure and its sphere of influence. What matters even more is that they accepted his

theory, not only with reference to Italian, but as a general rule for the formation of koines -- whence the view, widespread still today, that such languages as Alexandrian Greek, Literary Provençal, and later Modern Hebrew are actually 'artificial' creations. The truth is that all three of these languages, along with Dante's Italian, differ from the majority of 'natural' standards only in the side-effects inflicted upon the standardization process by extraordinarily extensive use of the language in the koine function.

After the myth of the koine, the next greatest taxonomic humbug is the so-called mixed language. This term is redundant or superfluous at best. It is possible for a language to exist whose structure is apportioned roughly equally between two (or more) varieties or diasystems. But such phenomena do not occur 'naturally'. They must be man-made; hence, all truly 'mixed' languages are artificial languages.

When the term 'mixed' is used to describe a system whose structure is clearly that of one particular language but which is infused with a great number of elements from another, then it tells us nothing -- for all languages are so constituted to some degree.<sup>44</sup> There is no 'pure' language.

The linguist would be well advised not to employ the terms 'koine' and 'lingua franca' as though they conveyed information about a language's structure or origin; and to abandon 'mixed language' altogether.

Notes to Chapter 4

<sup>1</sup>Tauli 1968: 17.

<sup>2</sup>To claim that synecdoche is an actual 'universal' would be to fall victim to circular logic: one of the criteria defining a 'civilized' people is that it not abide unchecked linguistic diversity within the community.

<sup>3</sup>Dialects distinguished by 'flourishment' period (e.g., medieval vs early twentieth-century vs current lower-class Milanese) may be referred to as temporal dialects to maintain the parallel with 'geographic' and 'social' dialect.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Haugen 1968: 278.

<sup>5</sup>See Chapter Six and section 7.7. below. 'Underlies' is not intended in any transformational-generative sense.

<sup>6</sup>Kratochvíl 1968: 146.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Wurm (1968: 349-350): 'Much the same can be said about any attempt to spread one large local language artificially over a much wider area, optimally making it the national language of a new nation. If the sole merit of such a language is that the number of its speakers is somewhat larger than that of languages spoken by other speech communities in the nation, though its speakers constitute still no more than a smallish fraction of the total population of that nation, such an attempt cannot be expected to be successful unless backed by very considerable force and sanctions that would of course give it a sort of prestige. If it could be given a good deal of prestige of this or any other kind, it could succeed -- but the number of its speakers would then be irrelevant, only the prestige factor would count.'

<sup>8</sup>Ray 1963: 61.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Ray 1963: 62.

<sup>10</sup>Nader 1962: 25.

<sup>11</sup>Kuhn 1956.

<sup>12</sup>Kuhn 1956: 43.

<sup>13</sup>Kuhn 1956: 44.

<sup>14</sup>An additional counter-example is furnished by Standard Hungarian, based on a dialect spoken in the northeast rather than the center of Hungary, (cf. Deme 1972: 269-270, 273). Albania, a country traditionally divided into a northern (Geg) and a southern (Tosk) area, with an appreciable center, has a standard language apparently based on a southern dialect (cf. Byron 1976: 59-68.)

<sup>15</sup>Jespersen 1925: 62.

<sup>16</sup>Jespersen 1925: 70. Cf. also Robson 1955; Fought 1979.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. Jespersen (1925: 62): 'This follows naturally from social conditions. The upper class travels more and mixes more with people of similar standing from other parts of the country ... Add to this the effect of their boys being educated, not in day schools, but in the great "public-schools" -- boarding-schools for well-to-do boys from all parts ... The same effect is produced ... by Universities, which seldom or never draw their students exclusively from one district.'

<sup>18</sup>Theoretically, the 'central' dialect could be innovating, with the same prestige factors that are shortly to propel it to synecdochic position causing its innovations to be spread throughout the language. But closer examination reveals this to be illogical. If the dialect has such great prestige, it is going to emerge as synecdochic in any event. It will not somehow wait around for its eccentricities to spread (thus rendering it 'central') before it does so.

<sup>19</sup>All three of the examples are innovating at the phonological level, Tuscan at the morphological as well. Leonard (1978) claims that all of them are innovating morphophonemically, since they have effaced the systematic umlaut he posits for Proto-Romance.

<sup>20</sup>See Close 1974.

<sup>21</sup>I refer here to foreign influence the synecdochic dialect receives as a result of being focal to a bi- or multilingual upper class. All standard languages undergo an influx of foreign elements during the processes of elaboration and codification (see below). The difference between the two types is generally that of 'early' vs 'late' influence; often, as with the influence of Greek on Latin, the two types are indistinguishable (cf. Kahane and Kahane 1979).

<sup>22</sup>I would consider centrality a 'byproduct' of standardization if it were a more or less unintentional result; a 'product' if the body of standardizers proceeded with centrality as one of their goals (see Chapter Seven).

<sup>23</sup>Pulgram 1958: 57-59. See also 4.3. below. The proximity of Tuscan and Classical Latin may at first seem to contradict my previous characterization of Tuscan as an 'innovating' dialect; but from the point of view I am taking, it actually supports that claim.

Classical Latin, of course, is not the 'ancestor' of Tuscan, but a 'sister' dialect of the Proto-Romance from which Tuscan and all other Romance dialects developed. Any Tuscan divergence from the Romance norm in the direction of Classical Latin (unless it actually represents some earlier Proto-Indo-European unity not shared by the rest of Romance -- a most unlikely state of affairs) should thus be considered innovative.

<sup>24</sup>Fellman 1973: 85.

<sup>25</sup>On the Italian questione, see Hall 1942.

<sup>26</sup>Hall 1972: 144.

<sup>27</sup>Cf. Haugen 1968: 277.

<sup>28</sup>Cf. Kratochvíl 1968: 146.

<sup>29</sup>Cf. Passin 1968: 450.

<sup>30</sup>Close 1974.

<sup>31</sup>Cf. Zima 1968: 366.

<sup>32</sup>Ferguson 1968b: 261.

<sup>33</sup>Ferguson 1968b: 256-257.

<sup>34</sup>Cf. Zima 1968: 366.

<sup>35</sup>Valdman 1968.

<sup>36</sup>Cf. Nida and Wonderly 1971: 65.

<sup>37</sup>On Ibo, see Ward 1941; on Shona, Doke 1931 and Ansre 1970: 688-691.

<sup>38</sup>See Haugen 1966a.

<sup>39</sup>On the failure of Landsmaal, see note 42 below.

<sup>40</sup>On the political and social consequences of language imposition, see Das Gupta 1968: 23-24.

<sup>41</sup>Cf. Whiteley 1969: 93-94.

<sup>42</sup>A different point of view is expressed by Pulgram (1958: 54):

The theory of peeling off, as it were, dialectal vagaries like the petals of an artichoke until there remains the small but delicious heart, may possibly look intriguing at first sight. But if viewed realistically, flaws appear to the critical eye of the linguist.

... as the heart of the artichoke is not a whole artichoke, so

a de-dialectalized language, incorporating only the common denominator of all related dialects of a nation, would be a poor thing indeed, surely not one that Dante himself would have employed.

On a purely theoretical basis, Pulgram is being too harsh. Certainly, a system created in this way would need to undergo elaboration, just as any standard language must; and there is nothing (in theory) to prevent this from being carried out in a controlled, scientific fashion over the many years that would be required.

The reality of things is quite different, however, and corresponds entirely to Pulgram's statement. Landsmaal, the example cited, has not enjoyed such controlled elaboration, but has had to fall back into the tracks of its old arch-enemy, Dano-Norwegian, in order to supply itself with the necessary resources (see Haugen 1976: 36-37).

<sup>43</sup>Cf. Pulgram 1958: 55.

<sup>44</sup>Cf. Baudouin de Courtenay 1901.

## CHAPTER FIVE: CHANGES IN FUNCTION

### 5.1. Emergence, function, and form

The new synecdochic dialect acquires functional spheres formerly reserved for the 'high' language of the diglossia. Use in these functions both demands and makes possible certain changes in form. On the other hand, one means of engineering the emergence of a prospective synecdochic dialect is to put it to tentative use in the 'standard-language' functions.

The standardization process follows no fixed sequence. Each step may trigger any number of other steps. A change in function or form causes a change in status, which can only lead to further functional and formal alteration.

Changes in function have a special significance, because they are comparatively easy to measure. Ideally, a vernacular's progress toward standardization should be weighed in terms of function, form, and status. But since the three are multiply interconnected, a change in one normally implies a proportionate change in the others. Status is prestige, and, as I noted in the first chapter, prestige is very elusive stuff, difficult to quantify. Changes in form are more readily measurable; but all language is constantly undergoing change, and it is frequently impossible to determine whether a particular alteration is actually due to the standardization process.

Function is at once the most obvious and the most reliable index of a dialect's acculturation. Of course, the fact that some persons

are now using the dialect for a certain purpose does not mean that everyone has come to employ it in that way. But the breakthrough event is perhaps even more important than the actual attainment of majority usage. The fact that someone has carried out a given 'high' function in the vernacular means that it can be done, and that at least the rudimentary changes of form have been effectuated. A model now exists within the acculturating community; the hardest part has been accomplished.

## 5.2. Functions gained and lost

The new functions appropriated from the 'high' language by the emerging vernacular synecdochic dialect are outlined in the following sections of this chapter. But the synecdochic dialect does not simply swallow up one new function after another. In the process -- and particularly as it undergoes acculturation in form to the 'high' language -- the dialect becomes inappropriate for certain functions it served regularly before synecdoche began.

As it becomes associated with larger units of loyalty (see 5.4. below), the dialect cannot be used for any function in which primary loyalty is being demonstrated to a smaller unit. For matters of purely local or regional pertinence, the standardized language is out of place even in the location of its original dialect base. Like the society that acculturates, the synecdochic dialect strikes a Faustian bargain: it surrenders its identity as the price of becoming 'civilized'.

When frequent use of the standard as a symbol of formality and solemnity (see 5.4. below) causes it to be stereotyped in that function, it may then be felt not only as inappropriate, but downright

insulting, if employed in a context of intimacy. This loss of function is manifested most strikingly in literature. In any work of fiction, tradition holds that the narrator's voice is to speak a standard language, since the configuration of author or narrator plus reader does not yield an informal context. The characters, however, are portrayed going about their daily lives -- and in most daily lives, solemnity is at a minimum. It is perfectly normal in a work of fiction to have passages of narration in the standardized dialect interspersed with quotations from the characters' speech in a non-standard dialect.<sup>1</sup>

### 5.3. Wider communication

'In effetti per standard si deve intendere l'imposizione di una varietà per ragioni extralinguistiche, per un ruolo di koine o lingua franca che non trova alcun riscontro intrinseco nella varietà stessa.'<sup>2</sup> Indeed, one of the most important functions of the newly-emerged synecdochic dialect is to be the medium of most communication above the local level, whether between speakers of the language for which it is synecdochic, or in a case where one or more of the interlocutors speaks a different tongue.

The standard's role within the language community is proportionately more critical as the dialects are more diverse in structure. In Italy, dialect speakers from towns less than one hundred kilometers apart may be largely incomprehensible to one another. A survey recently conducted in the Abruzzi produced three significant findings:

- a) of persons whose parents spoke different focal dialects, 80% are speakers of Standard Italian;
- b) of persons whose parents spoke the same focal dialect, 47% are

speakers of Standard Italian;

- c) of persons unable to speak Standard Italian, 100% had parents who spoke the same focal dialect.<sup>3</sup>

The third category has been drastically reduced in size by large-scale internal migration within Italy since World War I.<sup>4</sup>

As lingua franca, the standard is also the appropriate vehicle for national broadcasting. Just as in literature, use of the standard depends on the nature of what is being transmitted; Nader notes that the 'clown' on various popular television shows of Lebanon and Egypt speaks a dialect other than the colloquial standard.<sup>5</sup> The all-pervasiveness of television and radio in current Western and Westernized society certainly aids the spread of the standard dialect, but broadcasting alone cannot impose it upon the population. It can only instill passive recognition -- admittedly an important first step in the learning process. Television and radio are of limited linguistic influence because, although they continually spout the standard at the dialect-speaking listener, the latter cannot reply and receive the feedback (both positive and negative) necessary for efficient assimilation of the language. Any evening, at any cafe-bar in Calabria, one may find fifteen or twenty villagers seated around the television, watching a nationally-broadcast program. The announcer's words -- all in Standard Italian -- provoke frequent comments and discussion among the viewers -- all in Calabrese dialect.

The standard also serves as medium of communication with focal speakers of other languages. This function will be discussed further in the sections on nationalism (5.4.) and technology and education

(5.5.). The choice of a synecdochic dialect is particularly momentous within a political unit containing speakers of various languages, with no one group constituting a majority. Whatever language is chosen, it will be a second, non-focal tongue for the majority of people within the country. This fact has profound implications for the language's subsequent development. It is probable that the various linguistic groups, each infusing the standard with its own substratum influences, will each speak it in its own way -- that is, with a particular 'accent'.<sup>6</sup> One goal of education will be to promote national unity by promoting convergence of these regional types toward the original, 'pure' synecdochic dialect, in order that all the country's residents may be able to converse easily with one another.

As 'international language', the standard is the medium of all ongoing acculturation to advances made in other nations. The importance of translation in the development of a standard language has never been adequately stressed. In the context of translation, elements from the source language can be 'forced' into the target language with greater ease. The reader or listener -- by virtue of the fact that he has bothered to pick up the book or hire the translator -- has shown himself to be interested in some element possessed by the source culture. He is more likely to accept the introduction of a foreign linguistic element if it appears necessary for the translation of the equally foreign object or idea that initially piqued his curiosity (presuming his native language lacks the means to render it satisfactorily), than he would be under most other circumstances. Translation is therefore an important vehicle of elaboration (Chapter Six below).

Interestingly, the 'wider communication' function also plays a

major role in control, the countertendency to elaboration (Chapter Seven below). I have noted the fallacious beliefs that often surround a language or dialect regularly used in the function of a lingua franca or koine. The standard dialect is not a 'mixed' system -- at least not to any substantially greater degree than is any other dialect. Nor is it a 'reduced' system, in the sense that a pidgin or artificial language is reduced. Yet the koine function may encourage the elimination of peripheral variants within the language. Such elimination is always an optional development within the control process. Rarely, if ever, is an entire emic class lost; only allophonic, allomorphic, allolexic, allosemic (etc.) variants within a class. Thus, some paring down of the language's resources may occur, but not nearly to the point of pidginization. 'Control' and 'reduction', while similar on the surface, actually do differ in kind, not merely in degree.

#### 5.4. Ideologization

Most of the new states come into existence without that unity of sentiment, geography, administrative organization, language, and cultural tradition that is taken for granted as the basis of nationhood in the more settled states ... A common national language becomes an urgent necessity for the promotion of the sense of nationhood and, therewith, national unity.<sup>7</sup>

In the absence of a common, nationwide, ethnic and cultural identity new nations proceed to plan and create such an identity through national symbols ... It is at this point that a national language is frequently invoked (along with a national flag, a national ruler, a national mission, etc.) as a unifying symbol.<sup>8</sup>

The national language transcends its mere koine function and is ideologized. The individual attempting to gain prestige does so by assuming what trappings of prestigious persons are available to him; similarly, the nation may try to establish itself as primary unit of

loyalty by imposing a symbol of unity, the common language. '... nation-states have been most securely founded where all nationals speak the same language, and preferably a language all their own.'<sup>9</sup>

What is needed, in other words, is internal homogeneity and external diversity. These needs can profoundly affect the course of the control process. Two national languages that do not exhibit a substantial abstand between them -- such as Czech and Slovak, Serbian and Croatian, Macedonian and Bulgarian, Russian and Byelorussian -- may ideologize whatever minor differences do separate them. A particular element may be placed high on the Slovak control hierarchy for no other reason than that it does not exist in Czech.<sup>10</sup>

Ideologization toward a unit of loyalty is considered by some to be so important a function in the standardization of a language that it is actually accredited with generating the process:

La langue commune ... surgit là où il se constitue un état ayant une administration centralisée ou possédant des groupes sociaux qui ont une vie de civilisation commune. Elle est donc surtout l'expression d'états ou de groupements d'états. Nous ignorons quand et comment les premières langues communes ont apparu dans le monde, mais il est vraisemblable qu'elles sont contemporaines des premiers états de l'ancien Orient.<sup>11</sup>

Whether or not this statement is accurate, the nationalistic function, with its great political and social significance, is directly responsible for much of the attention given to standard language studies during the past two decades.<sup>12</sup>

The standard dialect is ideologized in an additional way: it becomes the symbol of formality and solemnity. This development may be connected in part with the nationalistic function -- national matters are grave matters. The flag and the tuxedo, after all, are both made

of cloth.

But the solemnity function is more closely bound to church than state. A widespread, traditional belief (implicit if not explicit) holds that deities are to be addressed in a standard language -- if possible, in an archaic standard language, or at least a standard infused with elements focal to speakers of an earlier flourishing period. The Catholic Church continued giving its masses in Latin until only a few years ago (and still does so sporadically). In English-speaking lands, the Jacobean Bible is still in regular use, especially for formulaic prayers. The God being addressed is reputedly omniscient, and should be equally well served by any dialect (or, for that matter, by silence). However, the standard dialect, being the prestige dialect, is more respectable, and makes its user appear more respectful in petitioning the deity. The archaic elements -- infused with prestige by their temporal displacement, as we have seen occur with the synecdochic dialect of Icelandic -- elevate that respect to reverence.

Separating street talk and religious reverence is a wide gamut of formality levels. The most famous attempt at classifying these levels is the 'five clocks' schema designed by Joos for 'native central English', in which the following five 'styles' are recognized: intimate, casual, consultative, formal, and frozen.<sup>13</sup> A different variety or dialect is appropriate at each of these levels. The standard presumably hovers over the formal, encompassing the upper reaches of the consultative and the lower end of the frozen style as well. 'Formal style', writes Cassidy,

is that appropriate to all public and serious expression; to spoken use in legislative assemblies, in courts, in the pulpit; to 'belles-lettres' or artistic literature; to legal and scien-

tific writing. Because its users belong to the cultivated and literate part of the public it tends to be more deliberate, precise, discriminating, and orderly than the casual usage normal to everyday discourse, even that carried on by this same cultivated group.<sup>14</sup>

He describes the linguistic manifestations of the formality function as follows:

In pronunciation the formal style is more controlled, with conscious use of prosodic features (pitch, pause, stress) and with clear articulation and syllabication (though without restressing, spelling-pronunciation, or other distortions). In grammar it is conservative; in sentence-form it has more variety and range than everyday discourse has. Its vocabulary is far broader and richer, demanding sharper distinctions and more sensitive choice. In overall structure it is orderly, consciously articulated, intellectually directed.<sup>15</sup>

The nature of these remarks may have been influenced by the fact that they were written for the introduction to a popular dictionary. They reflect a number of common lay attitudes. Some of the points are accurate: the control of articulation, perhaps the orderliness of structure. The idea of the standard language as 'intellectually directed' echoes Havránek's factor of 'intellectualization'.<sup>16</sup> Other points -- more controlled pronunciation, greater variety and range of sentence form and vocabulary -- are totally lacking in empirical demonstration; the remarks on sentence form and vocabulary seem, if anything, contrary to the actual nature of things. The idea of 'clear syllabication' is nothing short of ridiculous.

The profoundest effect of the solemnity function on the standard dialect is probably the further increase of prestige it induces. It may also trigger more rigorous application of the control process; the language used as 'tuxedo' tends to get overly starched.

### 5.5. Technology and education

Two nuclear engineers from Bologna chance to meet at a research laboratory in Los Angeles. After twenty minutes of catching up with each other's personal life -- all in Bolognese dialect -- the conversation turns to their work. Technology is a function appropriate to the standard language. They may switch into Standard Italian. If both have been working in the United States for several years, they may choose English instead. If, however, they continue speaking Bolognese, they will soon find themselves needing to insert Italian and English words for technological items and processes that the dialect lacks. They may pronounce these borrowings as in the source language, or adapt them to Bolognese phonological patterns.

Use of the standard dialect in technological functions strongly affects its lexicon and syntax, not only through the introduction of countless Greco-Latin terms and intricate phrases, but also because many of the dialect's most basic lexical and syntactic elements seem inappropriate in this sphere. As I will discuss in the following chapter, the situation of the Bolognesi engineers -- when prolonged and supported by sentiments of loyalty -- is precisely that which leads to the changes in form by which a standard language is created.

The close relationship between education and acculturation was demonstrated in Chapter Two. Education comprises two distinct standard-language functions: 'domestic' education, where the standard dialect used as medium of instruction is part of the same language as the students' focal dialects; and 'foreign' education, where students are acquiring the medium as a second tongue. This corresponds to the

difference between the two 'wider communication' functions, one within the language, and the other between languages.

The school is of paramount importance in diffusing the newly-emerged synecdochic dialect to the various strata of the population. 'La scuola, di solito, è un potente fattore unitario: sia che si proponga d'insegnare la lingua prescindendo dal dialetto, sia che, con più accorta didattica, lo rispetti e lo utilizzi.'<sup>17</sup> Migliorini goes on to relate an eye-opening anecdote:

Non che tutto fili alla perfezione: un certo numero di insegnanti conoscono la lingua, e specialmente l'ortofonia, fino a un certo punto: leggevo recentemente le lamentele di un padre di famiglia che, avendo mandato il proprio figlio a scuola perchè imparasse la lingua, s'accorse che il ragazzo, in sostanza, manteneva il proprio dialetto, e imparava, in più, il dialetto del maestro.<sup>18</sup>

But the total effectiveness of the schools in spreading the standard is really quite astonishing, especially if one accepts figures such as those gathered by a linguist from the 1961 Italian census data for three cities of the Abruzzi. They reveal a direct correlation between the speaker's level of education and his ability to speak Standard Italian, his local dialect, or both.<sup>19</sup> One hundred percent of the towns' 'laureati' are reported to speak only Standard Italian, and never local dialect; while sixty to eighty percent (depending on the town) of those 'privi di titolo' know only the local dialect, and cannot speak the standard.

Japan instituted compulsory universal education in 1872; within the next sixteen years, a Tokyo dialect was selected, standardized, and made mandatory in all schools and government bureaus. The subsequent success of this dialect in attaining synecdoche is attributed directly to its imposition in the schools.<sup>20</sup>

The standard language may not be considered suitable for every level of education, particularly in a country where many different languages are spoken. 'Thus some nations have hit upon the expediency of recognizing several local languages as permissible for early education (i.e., grades one to three or even six), whereas the preferred national language is retained for intermediate education ...'<sup>21</sup> During these early years the students need to study the standard language itself, and until they gain a sufficient knowledge of it, it cannot be used efficiently as a vehicle for instruction in other subjects. 'Teaching in a language other than the mother tongue will help widen the gap between the elite and the masses ( ... ).'<sup>22</sup>

The contrast between the multilingual nation and the nation in which most of the population speaks a single language (with a greater or lesser degree of dialect variation) is actually not all that large.<sup>23</sup> In either case, students must master the standard dialect -- for even if it is based on their focal dialect, it has been greatly modified and elaborated through acculturation. The newly-standardized language is focal to no one; everyone must acquire it as a second dialect. In a sense, even the long-established standard can claim no truly focal speakers, since one does not accede to many of its functional domains until adulthood, when 'native' speech repertoires are already established.

I have also mentioned the function of the standard dialect in the education of foreigners. The effect on the language in this case is quite different from that in the education of young people within the culture or nation; the difference corresponds to Ferguson and DeBose's distinction of 'baby talk' and 'foreigner talk' (i.e., the way focal

speakers alter their language in addressing babies and foreigners).<sup>24</sup>  
 The Bauan diasystem of Fiji includes a special, highly distinct level of speech -- 'Bauan for non-native speakers' -- appropriate for use by and with foreigners only.<sup>25</sup>

The writing of grammars for non-natives leads to a special type of linguistic analysis, different from that induced by writing a grammar for natives (see 5.6. below). The elements of the language must be presented to outsiders in a graduated fashion. This artificial situation demands very concentrated application of many facets of the control process. The general effect is to distill an 'orderliness' out of the linguistic patterns that distorts the structural reality. Among several elements of roughly equal stature, one may be selected as primary, and the others de-emphasized as exceptional, simply because students must be presented, as early as possible, enough elements to allow for the construction of complete sentences and discourse. This means that many variants within emic units must be ignored until the essential patterns are mastered. Here language structure is purposefully reduced, in a consciously artificial manner.

Many 'native' grammarians have been influenced by the structure of these second-language grammars -- not altogether inappropriately, given the similarity between the teaching of foreigners and natives mentioned above. But the native grammarian can directly change the course and outcome of the standardization process, and any such influence on his methods is certain to affect the manner in which elaboration and control are carried out.

## 5.6. Codification

One may regard codification as a standard-language function having linguistic form as its sole and specific domain. Codification serves largely as a repository for 'control' decisions. It also brings to light areas where either control or elaboration may be desirable. Furthermore, it includes the rudiments of another quintessential standard-language function: writing. No dialect may be considered 'standardized' until it has been codified.

Most commentators have equated codification with 'grammaticalization', the creation of grammars (usually 'native' rather than second-language) of the synecdochic dialect. It seems to me, however, that orthography and lexicography are related to the dialect's phonological and lexical systems, respectively, in the same way that the grammar is related to the morphological and syntactic systems. Much neater and more instructive, then, is the extension of the 'codification' category to cover all three of these closely related fields.<sup>26</sup>

Rather than treat them in 'orthodox' sequence, I shall reserve orthography for last, so that it may lead directly into the section (5.7.) on writing.

Grammar. Like 'language', the term 'grammar' (along with its international cognates) is highly polysemic. It may indicate:

- a) a language's morphological and syntactic resources ('the grammar of French')
- b) a description of (a) ('a grammar of French')
- c) the norms of usage within a language community ('good grammar')
- d) a description of (c) ('descriptive grammar')

- e) the rules of control governing (a) ('correct grammar')
- f) a description of (e) ('prescriptive grammar')
- g) an historical study of a language's structure ('historical grammar')
- h) a comparative study of two or more languages' structure ('comparative grammar')
- i) the 'universal' system of logic underlying the structure of all languages ('universal grammar')
- j) a description of (i) ('the Port-Royal grammar')
- k) an individual's actual verbal output, with an eye to its degree of adherence to (e) ('Proust's grammar')
- l) (rarely) a description of (k) ('a grammar of Proust')
- m) (now generally archaic) the Latin or Greek language (cf. English grammar school)
- n) the rudiments of any art or science ('the grammar of music')
- o) a description of (n) ('a grammar of music')
- p) the actual, physical book containing (b), (d), (f), (g), (h), (j), (l), or (o)

The type of 'grammar' in which morphological and syntactic codification is realized, and with which I am specifically concerned, is (f): grammar as a comprehensive, pre-determined framework, in which those linguistic elements that have been subjected to control may be systematically arranged.

The difference between the 'prescriptive' or 'normative' grammar (f) and the 'descriptive' type (d) is not large:

What is prescribed is itself a description of a model of behavior. Now this model may already be available to experience in the habitual practice of some persons who are recognized by the users of

the language as imitation-worthy. Or, it may be just an anticipation by the scholar of his own practice as a user of the language, legitimate if he is recognized as a competent user of the language, and even worthwhile if he happens to command an adequate amount of prestige and access in relation to other users of the language.<sup>27</sup>

In fact, purely 'descriptive' grammars of languages that have undergone standardization are rare. Many grammars that purport to be non-prescriptive are really nothing of the kind; they may appear to be so if their authors have not been significantly influenced by second-language grammars (see above), and so present their prescriptions as 'preferable' rather than 'primary'.

The Greeks, source of Western culture in general, are demonstrably the ultimate source of our Western tradition of grammar, even though earlier examples of grammatical inquiry are known in other cultures.<sup>28</sup> The first rumblings are attested among the pre-Socratic philosophers of the fifth century B.C. --<sup>29</sup> the same century in which Sanskrit grammatical work (unknown to Europe until the early nineteenth century of the Christian era) culminated in the highly intricate treatise of Pāṇini --<sup>30</sup> but nothing substantial was produced until Plato (427?-347?) devised the distinction of noun and verb (Sophistes, 262A).<sup>31</sup> 'For him ... grammar was a part of logic and his grammatical statements, such as they were, were therefore justified on logical rather than on formal linguistic grounds ... the influence on grammar of logic has been a constant factor throughout the whole history of our science.'<sup>32</sup> Logic and philosophy are equally inseparable from grammar in the work of Aristotle (384-322). 'Grammar made great progress with Aristotle and his influence on subsequent grammatical thought was immeasurable ... Aristotelian thought is all pervasive in grammar,

certainly up to the end of the Middle Ages.<sup>33</sup>

Grammar as an autonomous branch of inquiry began with the Stoics (founded 308 B.C.), who originated the theory of grammatical case and were the first to be interested as much in linguistic form as in semantic meaning.<sup>34</sup>

The Alexandrian grammarians continued the tradition unbroken, and with them a definite peak is reached: Dionysios Thrax (late second century B.C.) and Apollonios Dyscolos (second century after Christ) left monuments which their successors, up to the present century, have done little more than copy over or reword.<sup>35</sup> Their deliberate concentration on literary norms rather than on popular speech has caused this attitude to be deeply ingrained in Western standardization practices.<sup>36</sup> Dionysios dissociated himself from philosophical pursuits far more than any of his predecessors, substituting a strong interest in what would today be called 'philological' inquiry.<sup>37</sup> This is evident in the definition of *τεχνὴ γραμματικὴ* that begins his treatise:

Grammar is the empirical knowledge of the normal usage of poets and prose writers. It has six parts:

- 1) accurate reading with due regard for prosody;
- 2) exegesis of poetical figures;
- 3) annotation of phraseology and allusions;
- 4) discovery of etymologies;
- 5) an account of the linguistic patterns;
- 6) criticism of poetical works, which is the noblest part of grammar.<sup>38</sup>

All that 'grammar' is now understood to comprise was included under part (5).<sup>39</sup>

Still, Dionysios was far more 'linguistically'-oriented than those who preceded him; more even than the later Apollonios, whose approach reverted to non-formal criteria of logic. The primary importance of Apollonios' work was in filling the great gap left by Dionysios'

failure to treat syntax.<sup>40</sup>

The Greek grammarians had no 'universalistic' intentions. They knew well of the existence of other languages, but made no attempt to incorporate them into the theoretical construct. 'The statements that they produced about language were made in terms of Greek and for Greek only ...'<sup>41</sup> The unique shaping influence that codification exerts upon the arising standard stems from the fact that grammar began as a system of logic extracted from the structural patterns of a single language.<sup>42</sup>

Grammar began to assume its modern form when the Romans took over the system designed for Greek and applied it to their own language. This was a truly amazing example of acculturation: faced with a discrepancy between the description of Greek and the structure of Latin, the Romans often preferred misrepresentation of the latter to alteration of the former.<sup>43</sup> Such actions are more easily understood in conjunction with the general Roman reverence for things Greek; yet many other peoples, not Hellenized to the degree that Rome was, shared this attitude toward the Greek grammatical system. The grammatical codification of the Syriac, Armenian, and Hebrew languages -- and perhaps Arabic as well -- were all based on the Greek system.<sup>44</sup>

For the Roman, the study of Greek was a prerequisite to any other learning. 'Grammar' and 'Greek' were synonymous. The Roman came to the examination of his native language, then, with certain linguistic 'facts' entrenched in his mind: for example, that the grammatical numbers are three (singular, dual, and plural); that the noun phrase may include a definite article; that the verbal moods are five (indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperative, and infinitive). He did not

hesitate to list a dual number in Latin, the forms of which happened to be identical with the plural (except when a few overzealous Hellenizers attached Greek dual inflections to Latin words). Even Varro -- the only Roman grammarian to exhibit originality and linguistic sensitivity, to reason about his observations and classifications rather than to follow the Greek mold slavishly and uncritically --<sup>45</sup> included articuli as a category within Latin, listing there the demonstratives is and hic (De lingua latina 8.45,51). As for the optative (which even Greek lost in the Alexandrian period), it became so deeply inscribed in the grammarian's consciousness that even modern languages could not escape its ghost until very recent times.<sup>46</sup>

The Greco-Roman grammatical tradition held on into the Middle Ages by just two threads: the works of Donatus (d. c.355) and Priscian (d. ? 526). Slender threads they were not -- particularly Priscian's grammar, which occupied eighteen books.<sup>47</sup> Neither deviated much from the system established by the Alexandrian grammarians, whose essentially literary focus they shared as well.<sup>48</sup> Donatus and Priscian remained in continuous use all over Europe throughout the 'Dark Ages', and with the Renaissance they rose to extraordinary prominence. Donatus was to be the model for all future pedagogical grammars;<sup>49</sup> his name became synonymous with grammar itself.<sup>50</sup> Priscian's importance is attested by the preservation of his grammar (despite its bulk) in over a thousand manuscripts in various European libraries.<sup>51</sup>

By the Renaissance, the monolingual origins of grammar in the structure of Greek were long forgotten. Grammar was accepted as a system of logic, even as an art -- indeed, the first of the Seven Liberal Arts, and a prerequisite to the other six. Henceforth,

grammarians would adhere as faithfully to Donatus and Priscian as Donatus and Priscian had adhered to Dionysios and Apollonios.<sup>52</sup>

Today, no dialect can be reckoned as 'standard' until it has been fitted into the framework of grammar, a framework built (with surprisingly few modifications) according to the well-worn Greco-Roman blueprint. Codification is the only efficient means available for recording and disseminating decisions on language control. But its greatest importance may lie elsewhere. Once a dialect's elements have been arranged into the familiar grammatical pattern, they are open to study by non-focal speakers, including (as I pointed out above) both foreigners and speakers of the same language. The codified language appears masterable; all one needs to know is contained in a book (a 'grammar') sitting there before one's eyes. The mere fact of this book's existence proves that: a) this language is of sufficient prestige and import for someone to have bothered codifying it; b) a synecdochic dialect has emerged; c) it has been subjected to a substantial degree of control, and is not brimming with untamed variation; and d) it has been exposed to at least one acculturative 'high' linguistic structure -- namely, the Greco-Roman grammatical schema.

Since the Hellenistic period, the linguistic aspects of grammar have far outweighed the philosophical in attracting popular interest. Schoolchildren and most adults learn grammar not for its own sake, but as a key to mastery of a standard dialect, either of their own language or of a second. In view of the fact that the standard's development has been affected by grammar to a much greater extent than has the learner's focal dialect, this is a sensible way of proceeding.

Lexicography. The average citizen is confident that if a word is not listed in the dictionary, it does not exist. 'The dictionary' is not limited to any specific work, but embraces whatever lexicon is at hand; most inquirers will accept the absence of a word from their Bantam paperback as proof of its nonexistence, even if they are aware that much more comprehensive authorities, such as the twelve-volume Oxford English Dictionary, exist. All 'word games' (crossword puzzles, Scrabble, Boggle, and the like) allow only dictionary listings; many even forbid the use of inflected forms, since most dictionaries provide only the uninflected base.

Why the lexicon should have immensely greater popular appeal than the grammar is puzzling. Equally puzzling is the linguist's reluctance to accept lexicography as a valid domain of scientific inquiry.<sup>53</sup> Grammars have evolved steadily, incorporating the most useful aspects of new theory (though the majority do not deviate far from the traditional base). But in the last 140 years, only one major dictionary has attempted a novel approach -- the Webster's Third International of 1961, founded upon the accomplishments of modern structural linguistics. The barrage of conservative opposition it provoked appears to have carried the day.

In its 'crystallized' form, the modern dictionary may include any or all of the following elements in addition to the basic semantic gloss: a) orthoepy; b) etymology; c) literary citations, an innovation of Samuel Johnson's Dictionary (1755); d) the 'historical principle', a combination of (b) and (c) first proposed by Franz-Passow in 1812, in which the 'life-history' of each word is portrayed; e) encyclopedic information; f) synonyms, antonyms, etc.<sup>54</sup> Like the grammar, the

dictionary may be prescriptive or descriptive in approach, though here again the difference between the two types is less than it appears on the surface.

Widespread awareness of the dictionary also makes it an important symbol of community linguistic pride. Ben Yehuda's dictionary of Modern Hebrew may have contributed to the language's success in becoming established, since it was the first palpable evidence that the language really 'existed':

For many people believe that a language is based on its dictionary ... that a language without a dictionary is simply not a language but only a dialect or jargon bereft of the prestige that is conferred automatically on what is accepted as a true language. Biblical and Mishnaic-Talmudic Hebrew, for example, had dictionaries and were therefore considered languages. Medieval and Modern Hebrew did not, and were for this reason relegated to the class of secondary, unimportant appendages to the classical Hebrew language.<sup>55</sup>

Orthography. This is a separate and thriving branch of inquiry within linguistics, and I shall mention only those facets that bear directly on the standardization process.<sup>56</sup>

The choice of a writing system may affect the future development of the synecdochic dialect.<sup>57</sup> Semasiographic, logographic, syllabic, alphabetic, and phonetic systems portray linguistic structure in progressively greater detail; the more the detail, the less room for linguistic change to occur without seriously altering the relationship between speech and writing. Language standardization does not necessitate the selection of any particular system; but the world-wide trend is certainly in the direction of alphabetic writing, various types of which have been in use from the beginning of Hellenic and Western civilization. Many cultures retain pre-alphabetic systems. Many

others, including China and Japan, are gradually abandoning them in favor of 'Romanization'. Formerly pre-literate communities now adopt alphabets without exception, and in the vast majority of cases it is the Roman -- the alphabet of Western civilization -- that they select.<sup>58</sup>

The Greek alphabet, along with its Roman and Cyrillic offshoots, is founded upon the phonemic structure of the Greek language. The Roman was modified to fit the structure of Latin, the Cyrillic that of Slavic languages. But once the printing press spread and standardized type fonts were in use, alphabets were quite rigidly fixed. The addition of a letter became a very expensive proposition. More practical was the creation of new symbols by combining letters currently in use, or by employing diacritical marks, since a single diacritic could effectively double the number of distinctive symbols within the system. A still more practical solution was to ignore linguistic developments and to leave spelling unchanged.

A community assimilating the Roman alphabet from their high prestige model can deal with the structural divergences between their own language and their model's by: a) adapting letters for elements exclusive to the model, and applying them to elements exclusive to the acculturating language; b) employing diacritics; or c) borrowing additional letters from a third language or inventing new ones. As long as internationalization is a prime goal of acculturation, (a) and (c) are likely to be avoided, since they can reduce 'interdecodability' with other languages that use the Roman alphabet.<sup>59</sup> Diacritics may add nothing to the decodability, but seldom do they stand in its way.<sup>60</sup>

To a certain extent, then, Romanization imposes the Greco-Roman

phonemic system upon an acculturating language in the same way that grammar imposes morphological and syntactic patterns. Effects upon the borrowing language's structure are not inconceivable.<sup>61</sup> If, for example, the vernacular contains series of aspirated and non-aspirated voiceless stops, as distinct from each other as either is from the voiced series; and if the aspirated are spelled p t k, the unaspirated p̣ ṭ ḳ; then if the slightest tendency should appear among speakers to neutralize the distinction and merge the two series, printers, typists, and even handwriters may seize upon this development and the savings of effort it provides. After all, the writing of a diacritic forces the penman to break his cursive, the typist to stop and backspace, the printer to slow his pace. Such considerations could propel acceptance of the linguistic change to a small degree.

If a phonemic distinction in the vernacular is ignored in spelling because the Roman alphabet reflects no such distinction -- as in the case of Hungarian /e/ and /ɛ/, both spelled e -- the orthography may even be a major factor supporting merger.<sup>62</sup>

But only in the very rarest circumstances do graphic factors promote linguistic change; on the contrary, writing is one of the strongest conservative forces within the development of a standard language, as I shall discuss in the following section.

### 5.7. Writing

Once a language's alphabet is fixed, the deviation between spoken and written usage begins. The spoken standard can never be imbued with rigor mortis as thoroughly as the written standard. Speech changes, spelling stays the same. In time, the alphabet may give no more than

a remote indication of phonetic reality. The situation worsens if those in charge of codification attempt to introduce a deliberately etymologizing spelling.

For some purposes, 'permanence' of the written language is a more desirable feature than proximity to speech. As George Snell wrote in his treatise The Right Teaching of Useful Knowledg to fit Scholars for som honest Profession, Shewing so much skil as anie man needeth (that is not a Teacher) in all knowledges, in one schole, in a shorter time in a more plain waie, and for much less expens than ever hath been used, since of old the Arts were so taught in the Greek and Romane Empire (1649):

... the wisdom of our Elders did ordain that the private pleadings, recoveries, and judgments concerning particular right, tenure, and inheritance should bee entred and recorded in the unchangabel Latine tongue, that howsoever the language of the Land might bee quite worn out and gon, yet all succeeding heirs, after manie ages might bee abel to know by the Records in Latine, how their tenure and titel, had beginning; and how it hath been conveyed down and continued.

Questions arise: does the existence of a conservative written standard affect the development of the spoken standard? To what degree? Structural linguists long denied or downplayed any such influence -- understandably, since their field was born only after a difficult cutting of ties with philology. According to Bloomfield, 'Alterations, no matter how fantastic, in a system of writing do not affect the language which is represented.'<sup>63</sup> Saussure at least admitted the influence -- but very begrudgingly: 'L'écriture peut bien, dans certaines conditions, ralentir les changements de la langue, mais inversement, sa conservation n'est nullement compromise par l'absence d'écriture.'<sup>64</sup>

Today's linguist, being in a more secure position, is freer to acknowledge 'the rather extensive influence that writing exerts on language',<sup>65</sup> and to investigate the degree of retardation involved. Unfortunately, few such studies have been undertaken, and the only one to receive any notoriety is, frankly, rather a shoddy piece of work.<sup>66</sup> Yet even in the absence of scientific confirmations, the rational basis for equating linguistic conservatism with the writing process is substantial, as the following pieces of evidence attest.

The phonological effects of writing upon spoken language are, in some cases, very pronounced (fortuitous pun). Misinterpretation of non-phonetic spelling as phonetic gives rise to spelling pronunciations, which may in time spread throughout the speech community, and even become established as standard. English is full of examples; among the most noteworthy are often with /t/, forehead with /h/, housewife with /u/, golf and Ralph with /l/, nephew with /f/ (rather than /v/), author with /θ/ (rather than /t/), regiment and medicine in three (rather than two) syllables. A language is affected proportionately as its orthography is non-phonetically-based, and as larger numbers of its speakers are literate.<sup>67</sup>

Although widespread literacy is a comparatively recent development, a great majority of standard dialect speakers have always been literate. Since the establishment of universal education in the West, writing has affected the speech of nearly every social and geographical community. The occurrence of spelling pronunciation bolsters Ferguson's claim that 'the use of writing leads to the folk belief that the written language is the "real" language and speech is a corruption

of it.<sup>68</sup> He calls this attitude 'nearly universal' among communities that write, and says that only the linguist or the occasional perceptive observer views the two media in their true perspective.

But spelling pronunciations are sporadic and unsystematic. To gauge the full measure of writing's impact on spoken language, one must look to broader levels of analysis.

An insightful article of recent date ties the differences in the structure of spoken and written language to contrasting properties of the acoustical and optical channels.<sup>69</sup> Written language can be less redundant, hence more concise than speech because 'the oral context is more sensitive to disturbances' within the channel. Since the article's author cites no references earlier than 1962, he is perhaps unaware of a related observation made nearly two hundred years ago:

La parlata è irregolare e negletta ... è piena d'anomalie e d'ambiguità, però senza conseguenza, perché l'azione e 'l gesto che l'accompagna, e la conoscenza delle persone e degli oggetti previene abbastanza gli equivoci. La scritta è, e dev'essere, più regolare e grammaticale, poiché senza di questo i lontani sbaglierebbero più d'una volta il senso delle parole ...<sup>70</sup>

That is, written language must be more internally regular than speech, first because it lacks the paralinguistic signalling that occurs in the one-to-one speech situation; and secondly because, while the speaker can size up his interlocutor and adjust his language accordingly, the writer can never know just who his audience will be.

The two opinions cited are complementary, not contradictory. And still other factors contribute to giving written language a nature all its own. Perhaps the most decisive is repeatability of the message. With most written messages, the receiver is in control of the rate at which the message is disclosed to him; he can slow down or reread as

he sees fit. With most spoken messages, the utterer is in control of the message rate; the receiver can request him to repeat, but the repeated message can never be precisely the same, and may actually be quite different. I stress the word 'most' because modern technology has made exceptions fairly common: non-printed, electronic writing that cannot be re-received; wire, disc, and tape recordings of speech that can.<sup>71</sup> But these media are still exceptional, with a tiny fraction of the traditional channels' frequency of use. It will be many decades before they exercise any considerable influence upon the established structure of spoken and written language.

With the receiver in control of message rate, the utterer is free to introduce greater complexity into the message. What is more, the utterer of a recorded message can continually review and revise his output, eliminating redundancies and introducing complexities as he desires, before the message is ever put at the disposal of a receiver other than himself.<sup>72</sup>

When a person has become practiced at writing, he may find that it becomes a substantially independent activity for him, quite divorced from the ways of speech and spoken language. The avant-garde of many newly-aculturating communities start out in a situation where writing is primary; the language of the model civilization is known mainly in its written form, and most acculturation is carried out through that channel. This is perforce the case when the model language is a classical tongue.

When writing ceases to be merely a representation of speech, it can begin to occupy numerous other functions. In the hands of the philosopher, it becomes a tool of logic. The sorcerer treats it as a

mystic device. For the poet and the story-teller, it provides the raw materials for a new art form; use in this specialized function leads to the development of literary language.<sup>73</sup>

The literary function forces language to cease being an impartial vehicle. Language itself becomes an integral part of the message. This phenomenon has been termed foregrounding by Mukařovský and his Prague associates. It occurs with particular intensity in poetry, 'to the extent of pushing communication into the background as the object of expression ... in order to place in the foreground the act of expression, the act of speech itself.'<sup>74</sup> Violation of the standard language is one means of achieving foregrounding:

The violation of the norm of the standard, as systematic violation, is what makes possible the poetic utilization of language; without this possibility there would be no poetry. The more the norm of the standard is stabilized in a given language, the more varied can be its violation, and therefore the more possibilities for poetry in that language ... Many of the linguistic components of a work of poetry do not deviate from the norm of the standard because they constitute the background against which the distortion of the other components is reflected.<sup>75</sup>

Such practices certainly influence the development of the literary language:

The very existence of poetry in a certain language has fundamental importance for this language. By the very fact of foregrounding, poetry increases and refines the ability to handle language in general; it gives the language the ability to adjust more flexibly to new requirements and it gives it a richer differentiation of its means of expression ...<sup>76</sup>

But any effect upon the spoken standard would have to come indirectly, after the changes had been well established in written usage.

The Prague School had dispersed by 1952, when Kloss created a stir by asserting that non-fiction writing (Sachprosa), rather than belles-lettres, exerts the greatest influence on the developing standard

language.<sup>77</sup> 'Achievements in the realm of information, not of imagination,' he wrote, 'lend lasting prestige in our age to standard languages old and new.'<sup>78</sup> Kloss' insight has been a fundamental tenet of sociolinguistics and language standardization studies ever since;<sup>79</sup> I have yet to encounter a single voice raised in dissent.

Non-fiction prose acquires its power from its role as an important (perhaps the most important) medium for carrying out every other standard-language function. The literary language is no more appropriate for use in technology, law, politics, or even the writing of a grammar, than is any low-class, rustic, non-synecdochic dialect. A culture can produce scores of great poets; yet if its language remains unsuited for the translation of an instruction manual, it will not accede to the various facets of civilization by means of which language standardization is fully achieved.

This is not a new situation. The beginnings of Standard Hungarian are to be found in no epic poem, but in the insertion of personal and place names in Latin legal documents.<sup>80</sup> Literary journals are known to have played a much larger role in the standardization of German than did the works they criticized.<sup>81</sup>

The newspaper can take a very central part in standardization. It includes articles dealing with a wide spectrum of subjects and functions. Moreover, it appears regularly, and each edition is as up-to-date as printed matter can be. For the newly-aculturating language, the newspaper is both a symbol that the tongue is living and thriving, and the public forum for working out problems in the language's development. In such a case, the newspaper may be most effective if it is not issued too frequently: the weekly that is read all through and

reread until the ink wears off the paper may exercise much stronger linguistic influence than the daily that is skimmed and then used for wrapping garbage.<sup>82</sup>

Kloss has outlined the stages in the progress of non-fiction writing through which a language typically passes during standardization:<sup>83</sup>

- Pre-phase: simple humor (jokes, amusing news snippets); untutored writing down of folk songs, children's songs, riddles, proverbs, etc.
- Phase 1: lyric verses; humorous poems of all sorts, comic narratives, dialogue in novels and broadcast programs
- Phase 2: plays; serious prose narratives (not merely the dialogue sections); verse narratives (idyll and epic); short newspaper essays (the beginning of non-fiction literature)
- Phase 3: development of non-fiction literature: popular school-books; short original essays (e.g., obituaries) involving the history of the homeland; popular magazines, sermons, radio programs in simple, matter-of-fact prose
- Phase 4: textbooks in all subjects; longer original works pertaining to the homeland; full-fledged periodicals and magazines; serious broadcast programs
- Phase 5: longer original works on the most diversified subject matters; official community and state documents; entire newspapers

This is intended as a general schema; variations are, of course, possible.

Writing and publication in dialects other than the synecdochic can always be undertaken, but are desirable only under special circumstances. Since the audience is limited to the immediate community, the author of a dialect piece must be motivated by local chauvinism rather than the wish for widest possible circulation. Were he to write in the standard language, his potential audience would span the nation, perhaps the world. If, however, his subject matter is of purely local interest and concern, the non-synecdochic dialect may be both a logical and an appropriate choice.

Once it has been used for writing, the dialect is never quite the same. The simple fact that it has been reduced to graphic symbols means that an important facet of its eventual standardization is underway. This strengthens the dialect's claim to synecdoche when, in years to come, a new diglossia is established (see Chapter Eight below). But little or no progress can be made so long as interest in writing is limited to one pioneer:

... any linguistic system lacking formal standardization can be technically reduced to writing for certain specialized purposes (such as for linguistic description or for the publication of educational or religious tracts) without the writing system becoming established as a normal device in the language community. However, writing can be considered a part of formal standardization when it constitutes an established system together with its orthographical conventions, which is accepted and used by the particular language community.<sup>84</sup>

Another major question looms: is writing a prerequisite for language standardization? Saussure is again skeptical:

Une langue générale [c.-à-d., standard] suppose-t-elle forcément l'usage de l'écriture? Les poèmes homériques semblent prouver le contraire; bien qu'ils aient vu le jour à une époque où l'on ne faisait pas ou presque pas usage de l'écriture, leur langue est conventionnelle et accuse tous les caractères d'une langue littéraire.<sup>85</sup>

At least one prominent sociolinguist holds to the same opinion.<sup>86</sup>

Leading spokesman for the opposing camp is Haugen:

Although it has been asserted that standardization can take place without writing, the evidence for this is slender. Languages can obviously spread over large areas without writing and can achieve a relatively homogeneous norm (Eskimo, Indo-European) ... Unless the rules are explicitly formulated, however, it is questionable that this should be regarded as standardization.<sup>87</sup>

Even if one restricts standardization to Western and Westernized cultures, the question is difficult. Western literature began with the troubadours, trouveres, and minnesingers -- an oral tradition. 'The vernacular literature of the twelfth century was not designed for reading. The epic poems were composed for recitation to the simple music of a primitive fiddle, and the lyrics for singing to more complicated tunes ...'.<sup>88</sup> Greek literature had begun in the same way, with the Homeric poems mentioned above by Saussure. Yet we have no first-hand knowledge of these ancient and medieval recitations or of the true nature of the language used in them. All our information comes through writing. Cohen surmises that the oral tradition itself was dependent upon the pen:

The jongleur, who recited the trouvere's poetry ... was probably a cleric. For, in this age, only a cleric was able to read and write; and his poem was almost certainly not recited out of his head, but learnt from a parchment copy.<sup>89</sup>

In those parts of present-day Africa that remain unpenetrated by writing, oral tradition may be examined in vivo. Oral literature, we are told, 'is what enables Africa to make its superb contribution to world literature ...'.<sup>90</sup> However, two sociolinguistic studies of sub-Saharan regions have concluded that the beginning of language standardization is almost exclusively dependent upon the introduction of writing.<sup>91</sup>

The question is largely academic. The standardization process is a facet -- and not the generating facet -- of civilization. Exactly the same can be said of writing. The circumstances that produce the one produce the other. It should not be surprising, then, that the two have become closely associated and mutually dependent. Certainly one would be interested in knowing whether either can occur without the other; but speculation without empirical evidence here assumes the nature of a game.

In my opinion, the primary pragmatic motivation behind writing and behind standardization are one and the same: to make one's messages accessible to an audience targeted too vastly (either across space or across time) to be addressed directly in one's focal speech. 'The relative permanence of written records makes possible the transmission of more material from generation to generation', as does the relative stability of the standard language; 'the transportability of written records makes possible communication with a larger number of people', as does the standard's lingua franca status.<sup>92</sup> Whether the appeal is to future generations or to contemporary multitudes matters little -- the mechanism employed is the same in either case.

There can be no question how strongly the spread of writing has affected attitudes toward the standard language:

The popular explanation of incorrect language is simply the explanation of incorrect writing, taken over, part and parcel, to serve as an explanation of incorrect speech. It is the writing of every word for which a single form is fixed and all others are obviously wrong. It is the spelling of words that ignorant people, or better, unlettered people, do not know. It is writing that may be done carefully or carelessly, with evident results as to correctness.<sup>93</sup>

The further consequences of these beliefs will be examined in Chapter

Eight. For now, we should consider why attitudes toward writing are extended to speech. Why not the other way around? After all, does writing not begin as a codification of spoken language?

Here, for once, the answer is not difficult. Speech and writing are by far the most commonly employed sign systems for human communication. Any normal person can talk. Even parrots and minah birds talk. Speech can be picked up by any two-year-old, through listening to people talk to him and converse among themselves in his presence. But writing is another matter. In earlier times, it was the exclusive possession of a restricted class. Even today, with the spread of literacy, writing remains an ability acquired only with directed effort. Speaking must be learned; writing must be studied. The greater difficulty of acquisition means that, of the two primary communication channels, writing is the prestige channel. That historically writing is secondary to speech is irrelevant. Human nature strives after what is prestigious; one manifestation of this quest is the remodeling of speech attitudes -- and even, to a limited degree, speech itself -- after the written codification.

The method by which writing is acquired has additional linguistic significance. The written language has no 'native' producers comparable to the 'native speakers' of vocal language. Everyone who learns the written language learns it as a second tongue, for, unless he is deaf or mute, he will have already acquired the spoken language. Bearing in mind the remarks made in Chapters Three and Four on non-focal usage and its repercussions for the variety, one can begin to perceive the unique, 'artificial' character of written language. Since writing is, by and large, a standard-language function, the standard dialect

is certain to receive a disproportionately large impact from the written language's structural vagaries.

Notes to Chapter 5

<sup>1</sup>See Abercrombie 1931 and Stussi 1972; also Migliorini 1963: 84; Berruto 1971: 54.

<sup>2</sup>Galli de' Paratesi 1977: 178-179, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup>Giammarco 1976: 496.

<sup>4</sup>Migliorini 1963: 83.

<sup>5</sup>Nader 1962: 29, n. 10.

<sup>6</sup>See Joseph 1980 on gli italiani regionali; Valdman (ed.) 1979 on les français régionaux.

<sup>7</sup>Passin 1968: 453.

<sup>8</sup>Fishman 1968a: 6.

<sup>9</sup>Rustow 1968: 87.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Fishman 1968b: 50, n. 14.

<sup>11</sup>Sommerfelt 1938: 43.

<sup>12</sup>See further Le Page 1964; Chang 1965.

<sup>13</sup>Joos 1962: 13. On 'style levels' in Modern Hebrew, see Blanc 1968.

<sup>14</sup>Cassidy 1968: xi.

<sup>15</sup>Cassidy 1968: xii.

<sup>16</sup>See Havránek 1958: 5-8.

<sup>17</sup>Migliorini 1963: 83.

<sup>18</sup>Migliorini 1963: 83.

<sup>19</sup>Giammarco 1976: 510. The table of numerical figures given by Giammarco is so rife with obvious errors that I would be embarrassed to reprint it here. Nonetheless, the correlation emerges clearly enough from the figures that do appear accurate, and from Giammarco's comments which follow.

<sup>20</sup>Passin 1968: 450.

<sup>21</sup>Fishman 1968a: 7. Cf. Le Page 1968; Rubin 1968; Gorman 1971; Maw 1971.

<sup>22</sup>Argument advanced by Father G. Hulstaert against the establishment of a single national language in the Congo (now Zaire), quoted by Polomé 1968: 305.

<sup>23</sup>Cf. Ferguson 1964. On the special problems of standard-language teaching within the 'creole continuum', see Bailey 1964.

<sup>24</sup>Ferguson and DeBose 1977.

<sup>25</sup>Schütz 1972: 79.

<sup>26</sup>Garvin and Mathiot (1956: 784) include orthoepy and orthography under 'codification'; Deme (1972: 287) writes of the Hungarian word-stock being 'codified' by a dictionary.

<sup>27</sup>Ray 1963: 17.

<sup>28</sup>Dykema 1961: 456; Robins 1964: 84-85; Bursill-Hall 1972:7. The most comprehensive history of the Western grammatical tradition available is Robins 1951.

<sup>29</sup>Bursill-Hall 1972: 8.

<sup>30</sup>See Allen 1953.

<sup>31</sup>See Robins 1966.

<sup>32</sup>Bursill-Hall 1972: 8-9.

<sup>33</sup>Bursill-Hall 1972: 9.

<sup>34</sup>Dykema 1961: 456.

<sup>35</sup>See Uhlig (ed.) 1883; Schneider and Uhlig (eds.) 1878.

<sup>36</sup>Bursill-Hall 1972: 11.

<sup>37</sup>Any statement concerning Dionysios' 'predecessors' must necessarily exclude his teacher Aristarchos, who left no writings, but whose grammatical system was, in part if not in whole, that recorded by Thrax. See Robins 1957: 76.

<sup>38</sup>γραμματική ἐστὶν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων. μέρη δὲ αὐτῆς εἰσὶν ἕξ. πρῶτον ἀνάγνωσις ἐντριβῆς κατὰ προσώδιον, δεύτερον ἐξήγησις κατὰ τοὺς ἐνυπάρχοντας ποιητικούς τρόπους, τρίτον γλωσσῶν τε καὶ ἑστραλιῶν πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις, τέταρτον ἑτυμολογίας εὔρεσις, πέμπτον ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός, ἕκτον κρίσις ποιημάτων, ὃ δὴ κάλλιστόν ἐστι πάντων

τῶν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ. (The translation is my own).

<sup>39</sup>Davidson (ed. & tr.) 1874: 326, n. †.

<sup>40</sup>See Robins 1957: 102-103.

<sup>41</sup>Bursill-Hall 1972: 7. This explains, I think, why in the beginning the logical-philosophical aspect had to be foremost: all interested parties knew the language, so the only possible justification for linguistic inquiry was to get at the underlying mechanisms. By the Alexandrian period, large numbers of foreigners were interested in learning the Greek language, and it was useful for a more linguistically-oriented approach (even if actually 'philological') to arise. The influence of second-language grammars upon the home-grown type extends very far back indeed. (Cf. Dykema 1961: 457).

<sup>42</sup>Cf. Chantraine 1957a and b.

<sup>43</sup>Cf. Bursill-Hall 1972: 12-13.

<sup>44</sup>Dykema 1961: 457.

<sup>45</sup>Bursill-Hall 1972: 13.

<sup>46</sup>See Scaglione 1970: 44-111 (on Latin), 112-130 (on Italian).

<sup>47</sup>Vols. 2-3 of Keil (ed.) 1857-80. Donatus' grammar is contained in vol. 4 of the same collection.

<sup>48</sup>Bursill-Hall 1972: 14. Though Robins and Bursill-Hall state or imply that Donatus and Priscian worked directly from the Greek sources (cf. Robins 1964: 85: '... Apollonius's work was used by Priscian as the model for his comprehensive grammar of Latin ...'), Dykema (1961: 460) maintains that 'Varro is the source which all later Latin grammarians follow, and they have apparently borrowed from him most faithfully.'

<sup>49</sup>Bursill-Hall 1972: 14.

<sup>50</sup>Cf. Elcock 1975: 382-383: '... the first grammar book of French was John Barton's Donait françois (c. A.D. 1400), so named after the Donatus, the popular textbook of Latin known to every medieval schoolboy.' Half a century earlier, Uc Faizit had similarly entitled his grammar of Occitan Donat proensal.

<sup>51</sup>Bursill-Hall 1972: 14, n. 1.

<sup>52</sup>Even the development of theoretical ('speculative') grammar, which represented a resumption of Platonic and Aristotelian inquiry, did not deviate much from the Latinist mold; nor did it have any notable effect on the subsequent history of the codification process.

<sup>53</sup>At least one thorough, scientific, and fascinating study of lexicography is available: Casares 1950, which includes a preface by von Wartburg. All the same, lexicographers constitute a breed apart from linguists.

<sup>54</sup>On the development and importance of some of these elements, and their place in the format of the Oxford English Dictionary, see K. Murray 1977: 133-136.

<sup>55</sup>Fellman 1973: 134.

<sup>56</sup>The best and most recent survey of the whole field is Stubbs 1980. Interest in this area has been fueled by its proximity to text linguistics and literary criticism.

<sup>57</sup>Cf. Kratochvíl 1968: 147: 'Writing is not as irrelevant to language as linguists sometimes believe. A standard language is almost always linked with writing in many ways. The type of writing system a people uses influences its way of thinking about language. Chinese are much less conscious of phonemes and words than are Europeans; the average Chinese is much more sensitive to morphemes than is the average European without linguistic training.'

<sup>58</sup>In Northern Nigeria and Ghana, Hausa written in Ajami (Arabic script) continues to coexist with the newer Roman system. The choice between the two depends largely on the subject matter to be written: scientific and technical papers usually appear in Roman script, traditional histories and religious tracts in Ajami (Zima 1968: 370). This division of function is the graphic counterpart to diglossia. The situation is currently stable; but as modernization continues, one may expect to see Roman Hausa eventually established as 'normal', Ajami Hausa as 'archaic'.

<sup>59</sup>For example, a community that uses the letter x for the voiceless palatal fricative may have to endure hearing it read as /ks/ in Roman-writing countries.

<sup>60</sup>Accent marks distinguishing vowel quality and quantity, as with Hungarian o /o/ vs ó /o:/ vs ő /ø:/, are sometimes misinterpreted by foreigners (reading personal and place names, for instance) as indicating placement of stress. Interference of this sort, however, is usually considered 'pronunciation with a foreign accent' rather than 'mispronunciation'.

<sup>61</sup>Cf. Shaffer 1978: 52.

<sup>62</sup>See Deme 1972: 294.

<sup>63</sup>Bloomfield 1939: 8.

<sup>64</sup>Saussure 1973: 45.

<sup>65</sup>Anttila 1972: 41.

<sup>66</sup>I refer to Zengel 1962. The study measures the retention of items from the Swadesh 'glottochronology' lists, plus specialized legal terminology, from the Latin of the Twelve Tables (450 B.C.) to that of the Institutes of Justinian (A.D. 533) to that of the Customs of Brittany (A.D. 1621). Zengel finds the rate of lexical stability 'astonishing', and concludes that literacy '... is to be reckoned with in language change through time and may be expected to retard the rate of vocabulary change.' If her conclusion refers specifically to written language, she should have stated this; if it is intended to embrace spoken language as well, she has provided no justification for the extension.

<sup>67</sup>On spelling pronunciations in Danish, see Skautrup 1947: 333; in Swedish, Haugen 1968: 276; in Finnish, Sauvageot 1973: 451.

<sup>68</sup>Ferguson 1968a: 30.

<sup>69</sup>Saukkonen 1977.

<sup>70</sup>Melchiorre Cesarotti, Saggio sulla filosofia delle lingue (1786). Caliri (ed.) 1973: 111.

<sup>71</sup>A flaw in Saukkonen 1977 is the failure even to mention any of these possibilities.

<sup>72</sup>Cf. Ferguson 1968a: 29: '... the immediate fixing in written form makes possible more complex sequential thought on the part of individuals.'

<sup>73</sup>On the term and its various significations, see Auty 1958: 46-49; Terracini 1956: 25-26.

<sup>74</sup>Mukařovský 1958: 19.

<sup>75</sup>Mukařovský 1958: 18-19.

<sup>76</sup>Mukařovský 1958: 29.

<sup>77</sup>See Kloss 1978: 28-30, 40-46.

<sup>78</sup>Kloss 1967: 33.

<sup>79</sup>This is due largely to its enthusiastic acceptance by Fishman; cf. Fishman 1968b: 46-47; 1972: 147.

<sup>80</sup>Deme 1972: 264.

<sup>81</sup>See Blackall 1978: 49-101.

<sup>82</sup>Cf. Fellman 1973: 61-62, on the importance of Eliezer Ben Yehuda's newspaper Ha-Zevi in the formative years of Modern Hebrew. Cf. also Deme 1972: 279.

- <sup>83</sup>Translated from Kloss 1978: 52.
- <sup>84</sup>Stewart 1968: 535, n. 8.
- <sup>85</sup>Saussure 1973: 268-269.
- <sup>86</sup>Stewart 1968: 534-535, n. 8.
- <sup>87</sup>Haugen 1968: 268. See also Haugen 1966b: 929; Kloss 1967: 33;  
Vachek 1948: 73-74.
- <sup>88</sup>J. Cohen 1956: 13.
- <sup>89</sup>J. Cohen 1956: 13-14.
- <sup>90</sup>Armstrong 1968: 235-236.
- <sup>91</sup>Ansre 1970: 696; Shaffer 1978: 54.
- <sup>92</sup>The quotations are from Ferguson 1968a: 29.
- <sup>93</sup>Bloomfield 1927: 437.

## CHAPTER SIX: CHANGES IN FORM: ELABORATION

### 6.1. The creation of inadequacy

Elaboration is the addition of elements, structural or lexical, to the synecdochic dialect, resulting from and necessary for its functioning in the domains appropriate to standard languages.<sup>1</sup>

The non-elaborated synecdochic dialect (as well as the non-elaborated non-synecdochic dialect) is in no way to be considered 'inferior' to the standard language. 'Any vernacular is presumably adequate at a given moment for the needs of the group that uses it.'<sup>2</sup> But when that group is in the throes of acculturation and attempts to use its native tongue as the medium for all its new needs, the language may be found momentarily inadequate until adjustments can be made.<sup>3</sup> These adjustments constitute elaboration. Following them, the language will again be adequate for its newly-acculturated community of users. So, although it is naive to proclaim all dialects equal in communicative efficiency,<sup>4</sup> still they all have equal potential for undergoing elaboration and for being made into a fully adequate standard language. Every standard language, let it be noted, was originally 'undeveloped'.<sup>5</sup>

As the language is put to use in the prestige functions appropriate to standards, inadequacies continuously come to light and must be remedied. This problem is especially critical in the areas of publication and education, where the acculturating community concerns itself with progressively higher and more complex realms of intellectual inquiry and endeavor. 'As this basic culture will develop and become richer and more complex, the language serving it as a means of expression will

develop with it and become richer and more complex.'<sup>6</sup>

One must remember, however, that all cultures and communities, even the most advanced, are continually changing and developing. Hence, Fishman's claim that 'Western languages, even those that have considerable international prominence, are constantly undergoing elaboration (in response to the growing and changing technological, scientific, and cultural pursuits of certain networks of users of these languages)',<sup>7</sup> applies to Westernized tongues as well. Just as all language is characterized by perpetual change, all standard languages are characterized by perpetual elaboration. The rate of elaboration is proportional to the rate of cultural development within the speech community.<sup>8</sup>

In preparing this dissertation, I have been faced with certain concepts for which no precise English terms are current. For two important concepts, *abstand* and *ausbau*, I appropriated their German names, following the precedent set by their creator. A third represented a viewpoint I had never seen or heard discussed, but had arrived at on my own; it prompted me to adopt a term from classical poetics ('synecdoche') and to resurrect its adjectival form ('synecdochic') from long years of desuetude.

Should these three terms find an increasingly wider usage in the years to come (which will only happen if the concepts are recognized by other linguists as significant for their own work), then an elaboration of the English language will have been accomplished.

As this example illustrates, the recognition of an inadequacy in the language may come about in either of two ways: more frequently, by comparison with another language which has the necessary expressive means (i.e., by acculturation); alternatively, through the invention by

a member of the speech community of an original object or perception whose uniqueness could not be conveyed by any existing term. The difference between the two cases is less than it might at first appear: either way, no inadequacy exists in the language until the speakers feel that there is one. Inadequacies are created by the avant-garde of inventors, philosophers, and those who translate foreign cultures, technologies, and languages.

## 6.2. Diglossia and the mechanism of elaboration

Just as the linguistic inadequacy itself may be either imported or internally generated, the elaborative remedy may be borrowed from another culture or sought within the language's own resources. Although in the example of *abstand*, *ausbau*, and *synecdoche*, the 'translated' problem was solved by adapting the German terms, and the 'original' problem by delving into the deeper recesses of the English lexicon, there need not be any such correlation.

Elaboration may be achieved in a number of ways, and the selection of the route to be followed in any given instance depends upon the 'low' society's attitude toward its 'high' model, and toward acculturation in general, at the time.

The first well-documented case is Latin. The earliest recorded literary texts, dating from the third century B.C., reveal '... une langue de caractère concret, propre à exprimer les aspects de la vie et de la nature, indigente s'il s'agit de rendre les modalités de la pensée; orientée vers le réel, inapte à l'abstraction.'<sup>9</sup> In the years that followed, a diglossia developed among literary men, with Alexandrian Greek as the 'high' language, and Latin as the 'low'; this situation was to

continue with little change for centuries.<sup>10</sup> The Greek modes of thought imported by these bilinguals revealed to them the inadequacies of their native Latin:

Or, cette incapacité relative ne pouvait être sentie qu'à partir d'un certain stade d'émancipation intellectuelle. Les Latins n'ont pu se rendre compte de l'insuffisance de leur langue que du jour où ils ont eu la révélation de la pensée spéculative, et éprouvé la tentation de s'y livrer. C'est la culture grecque qui leur a dénoncé leur déficience, en même temps que la langue grecque, plus riche que la latine ( ... ), leur offrait le moyen d'y remédier.<sup>11</sup>

As a result, almost the entire metrical system of Latin poetry,<sup>12</sup> numerous syntactic formations,<sup>13</sup> countless lexical items,<sup>14</sup> and even the (admittedly hypothetical) pitch accent of certain upper-class dialects,<sup>15</sup> were all taken over from Greek. Given the circumstances, investigation is warranted into the possibility that the several morphological characteristics shared by Greek and Classical Latin, to the exclusion of other Indo-European languages,<sup>16</sup> may have originated in Greek and subsequently been borrowed by Latin.<sup>17</sup>

The Greco-Roman connection was unique, for the Italian peninsula, being part of Magna Graecia, had long been dotted with Greek settlements (sporadic and rare linguistic continuants of which may possibly remain to this day). Certain elements, probably restricted to lexicon, entered the Latin dialects from Greek at the vernacular level, through the normal processes of linguistic borrowing. Often, the accentual pattern of the Latin adaptation or the Romance reflexes reveals the source. 'Avant-garde' elaborations retained the quantity of the Greek vowels and adjusted the accent according to the Latin pattern (all words with a long vowel in the antepenult were paroxytonic): κάμηλος → camēlus. Vernacular borrowings kept the Greek accent intact, and Proto-Romance did not distinguish

vowel quantity: εἶδωλων → \*idolu > Italian idolo (but Classical Latin idōlum). Some Romance languages contain doublets resulting from the borrowing of a single Greek word through both channels: χολέρα entered at the standard level as cholëra (> Italian collera 'anger'), and at the vernacular level as \*colëra (> Italian colëra 'cholera').<sup>18</sup>

Of course, all linguistic borrowing is 'elaboration' of a sort, and there is little difference in process or result whether it occurs in the salon or the marketplace. An element that enters the language system through a variety focal to a low social stratum can, just like any linguistic innovation, spread into geographically and socially neighboring varieties, and become an accepted feature of the synecdochic dialect -- hence, ultimately, of the standard.

Yet I feel it is necessary to distinguish this kind of borrowing from the elaboration that is part of standardization. Unless the difference in origin is manifested linguistically, however -- as with the Greek borrowings in Latin and Romance -- on what basis can one discriminate between the two types?

Under the circumstances, the division is bound to be arbitrary to some degree. I will consider as contributing to 'avant-garde' elaboration only those elements added to the synecdochic variety in the course of its performing the standard-language functions discussed above. Italian collera would represent avant-garde elaboration, colera would not. Similarly, of French frêle, the vernacular reflex of Latin fragilem, and fragile, the learned form added to the language during the Renaissance, only the latter constitutes an avant-garde elaboration. The subsequent borrowing of fragile from French into English was also an avant-garde elaboration, while the earlier loan of frail occurred at

the vernacular level before English had ever come to be used in standard language functions.

When Western civilization was beginning to take shape in Europe, Latin was used in all standard-language functions. As the cultural avant-garde started putting their vernaculars to use in these functions, certain lacunae became evident. Again, these lacunae existed only by virtue of comparison with Latin, an elaborated language whose resources had been honed by over a thousand years of use in these functions. Latin embodied the concept of a standard in the conscious or or subconscious view of those promoting the Romance vernaculars. It is not surprising, therefore, that they looked to Latin as model and source for filling the apparent inadequacies. Later, as Renaissance inquiry (under Arab tutors) brought to light the crucial importance of Greek thought and language in the formation of the Roman, Greek became once more a source for elaboration. Thus a sort of 'double' diglossia with two 'high' languages came about.

The attitude toward the vernacular held by those who would promote it to standard language status follows certain typical patterns. Comparison with the elaborated 'high' language gives rise to the opinion that the vernacular is ineloquent. English authors of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries lamented almost to a man not only their language's ineloquence, but even its 'barbarity'. They thought it inferior not only to Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but also to the modern Romance languages. Apologies for the language occur with almost ritualistic regularity in the prologues of works published in this era, or even within the works themselves.<sup>19</sup> In John Skelton's The boke of Phyllyp Sparowe (c. 1500-10), the following lament is made:

Our natural tonge is rude  
 And hard to be ennuede  
 With pollysshed tearmes lustye  
 Oure language is so rustye  
 So cankered and so ful  
 Of frowardes and so dul  
 That if I wold apply  
 To write ornatly  
 I wot not where to finde  
 Termes to serue my mynde.

Nicholas Haward's A briefe Chronicle (1564), translated from Eutropius, contains in its preface a still more devastating deprecation of English:

And where as some they be whyche obiecte that throughe these translatyons, the affectyng and desyre of the attaynyng of the Greeke, Latyne, Italian and other tounge dooth decay, and is the lesse soughte after, who seeth not howe friuolous and vaine that they saying is. For as it is very absonant that anye one who hath the perfect vse of corn and grain, and tasted the pleasauntnesse there of, would refuse the same to be fed with Acornes, so is it no lesse dissonant to say, that anye man hauing ones tasted the pleasaunte puritye of the Greke and Latine tounge, would (forsaking the same) fal to the barbarousnesse (in respect) of thys our Englyshe tounge.

These attitudes tend to be exaggerated in the case of English, because of its highly reduced inflectional system (taken as a sign of primitiveness) and mixed lexicon (about evenly divided between Germanic and Romance at the basic levels -- hence 'bastardized'). But the feelings expressed by Skelton and Haward are in fact representative of the reaction provoked by every emerging standard language. Those who are eventually to elaborate their native vernacular must first be educated, and education can only be carried out in a previously elaborated language (the 'high' diglossic pole). The resultant sense of inferiority concerning the native vernacular is, therefore (and for all its logicity it is paradoxical), a necessary concomitant to elaboration.

Why, one might wonder, do these persons, having learned the 'high' language, react with disparagement rather than defensiveness toward their

focal vernacular? Haward's commentary hints at the answer. The 'high' language is not intrinsically better than the 'low', in the way that grain may be empirically shown to constitute a better diet for humans than do acorns; but the two languages differ in prestige just as the two foodstuffs do. The educated avant-garde, now able to feast on 'grain', find that because of this ability they are socially a cut above the glandivorous herd which spawned them. Belittling of the vernacular, therefore, brings the educated person's achievement into sharper relief.

The diglossic situation in which the emerging vernaculars found themselves varied according to the social and political climate of the times. Finnish was the 'low' pole in an intricate diglossia with three 'high' languages, all unrelated to it; Swedish was the most centrally dominant, but Latin and German played parts as well.<sup>20</sup> Boksmåal, the original standard variety of Norwegian, spent centuries under the hegemony of Danish; it was in reaction to the vast Danish influence on Boksmåal that Landsmåal was created and promoted.<sup>21</sup> German -- of which a standardized dialect did not emerge definitively until the eighteenth century -- was for a period the 'low' of a diglossia in which the 'high' position was often bitterly contested between Latin and French.<sup>22</sup> And the Rumanians, who developed no native standard language until the nineteenth century, had been through a succession of 'highs' corresponding to the succession of peoples who had dominated their country politically or culturally; Turkish, Greek (at two social levels, as in the history of Latin-Romance), Latin (in some spheres), Italian (marginally), Russian (itself dominated by French language and culture at the time), German (very marginally), and, above all others, French.<sup>23</sup>

The Romance languages were not alone in having a closely related

variety of remote flourishing period -- that is, a classical language -- as 'high' in their diglossia.<sup>24</sup> Modern Greek, of course, arose under the same circumstances,<sup>25</sup> as have the various dialects of Modern Arabic,<sup>26</sup> Indian languages of the Sanskrit group,<sup>27</sup> Modern Hebrew,<sup>28</sup> Modern Chinese,<sup>29</sup> and many others. I have also mentioned cases in which a classical language became the 'high' for a people who did not speak one of its modern reflexes, as with Latin in Finland, Hungary, German, and Croatia.<sup>30</sup> Other examples are the diglossic situations of Swahili, in which Classical Arabic plays a part,<sup>31</sup> and of Japanese, whose speakers long employed Classical Chinese in standard language functions.<sup>32</sup>

Emerging African vernaculars today are, as a rule, in diglossia with French, English, or Arabic, one of these three being necessary for any function of international domain. As of the late 1960s, the importance of Arabic as a 'high' in Africa had been on the wane,<sup>33</sup> but this condition may have been reversed in the shifting political and economic winds of the Seventies.

Creole languages present a special case. They are often in diglossia with the original 'target' language that contributed to the formation of the parent pidgin. As is true in any diglossia where 'low' and 'high' are genetically related, the creole is viewed as a 'corrupt' form of the 'high' French, English, Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, etc. In the history of the Romance and Arabic languages, there have no doubt been reformers whose goal, explicit or implicit, was to 'restore' the speakers, through education, to Classical Latin or Arabic usage. Of course their efforts were fruitless. But a similar attitude is widely characteristic of creole/target language diglossia, and the results here may be more marked. One reason is that education is much

more broadly based in most (but not all) modern creole-speaking societies than it was in the Romance and Arabic lands of past centuries. Furthermore, the target languages of the modern creoles are still living languages with immense communities of native speakers; adapting a classical language to living, breathing needs would require great effort, and learning it would be further hindered by the unavailability of native-speaking teachers and models. Finally, the creole situation is fraught with a multitude of racial and social complications that render this type of diglossia unique.<sup>34</sup>

Modern Hebrew developed under historically unparalleled conditions. A classical language, not used natively for centuries,<sup>35</sup> was indeed to be adapted to living needs. The population for whom this ancient Semitic tongue was to become the everyday idiom consisted primarily of speakers of non-standard Spanish and German dialects. And this revival was to be carried out in a land where Arabic was the native language. But by no means was there a diglossia with Classical Hebrew, Judeo-Spanish, Yiddish, and Arabic as 'high', Modern Hebrew as 'low'. First of all, a considerable percentage of the Zionist pioneers could speak none of the languages just mentioned. Second, political circumstances soon made any use of Arabic a sensitive issue, and simultaneously promoted English as the principal vehicle of international communication. Third, it may be observed as a general principle that any 'created' national language, by virtue of the intense effort that goes into its creation, must outweigh in nationalistic motivation any feeling of linguistic and cultural inferiority. An analysis of the diglossia underlying the formation of Modern Hebrew must keep the native languages of the first generations of speakers off to the side:

<u>Prestige</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Speakers</u>
HIGH:	Classical Hebrew	(none native; cantorial tradition only)
LOW:	Modern Hebrew	(native speakers of Judeo-Spanish, Yiddish, Arabic, various other European & Middle Eastern languages and dialects)

Similarly, in considering the history of French we would not analyze such sub- and superstratum languages as Keltic and Frankish as 'high'.

Because of sociolinguistic conditions in the early years of Western civilization, many of the educated chose to write only in the classical languages. But most did not so choose, and it was generally recognized that the vernaculars, for all their ineloquence, had to be elaborated. The reasons for this were both nationalistic and educational. Translation into the vernacular was deemed necessary for the instruction of the masses who would never learn the high language. Not that they are always felt to have a natural right of access to higher learning; it is primarily their religious edification that has been taken into consideration.<sup>36</sup> During the Renaissance, when English and many other European languages were undergoing elaboration, the invention of printing arrived and made mass instruction seem a more feasible goal.

But I think it likely that shortly after the first printed texts began to appear in large quantities, the ideals of popular instruction ceded primacy to a more central concern: money. A book published in Latin or Greek required of its potential reader not only literacy but also mastery of a foreign language. A vernacular book, however, was accessible to all who spoke the synecdochic variety or something akin to it, provided only that they gain literacy -- no small task, but

more practicable for most than the study of Latin. Elaboration of the vernacular would eventually lead to an exponential expansion of the reading public. To what degree this was a calculated development is difficult to say; we could scarcely imagine it today, when most publishers are far less concerned with long-term development than with immediate profit.

Of course, the book's subject matter had to be taken into account as well. A specialized scientific treatise would find few or no readers among those unable to handle the 'high' language. Moreover, if the treatise were of more than national importance, it would attract a larger audience among the world scientific community if written in 'high' rather than the vernacular. This has remained the case for centuries, right up to the present day; original research will garner more attention (except as a novelty) if published in Dutch than in Afrikaans, in German than in Dutch, and for many fields, in English than in German. But the advantage of printing was its appeal to the multitude, and the majority of published books were and are directed to the readers of a single nation or language area only. Even with regard to scientific prose, nationalistic sentiment eventually takes over and requires translation and original work in the vernacular. Furthermore, when a community of scientists whose focal variety is a given vernacular becomes large enough, they can push for treatises in their language on the grounds that they and their students will be able to understand them more thoroughly than texts in the non-focal 'high' language.

The problem is how to transfer ideas from domains traditionally reserved for standard languages into a vernacular which has not yet served in standard-language functions. A great many notions and phrases

in the 'high' language will have no counterpart in the 'low' (and vice versa). Those undertaking the initial transference will have little choice but to borrow the element directly. To cite one example (out of the countless possible), the Romans, having discovered and been overwhelmed by Greek literature, could scarcely discuss or write about it in their own language without coming to grips with such concepts as *ποίησις* and *ποιητής* that had no close Latin equivalent. When in due course nationalistic sentiment restrained them from either discussing literary matters completely in Greek or from peppering their Latin sentences with the necessary Greek words (their foreignness made obvious by a blatantly un-Latin accentual and morphological pattern) and turns of syntax, there were but two possible roads to follow:

A. The minimal adaptations necessary could be applied to the foreign elements to bring them into line with acceptable patterns of Latin structure. Thus, the place of the accent would need to be shifted in many of the forms,<sup>37</sup> and if, as is likely, the words were borrowed from a type of Greek spoken with a pitch accent, the native Latin stress accent might be substituted. Morphologically, the words would have to be fitted into an appropriate Latin declension. *ποιητής* became *poēta*, and was allowed to retain its status as one of the rare masculine nouns of the first declension; in the transference it endured a severe change of form in the nominative and genitive singular.<sup>38</sup> *ποίησις* stayed in third declension, and while some of its forms were also radically altered, the accusative singular kept its distinctly Greek inflection *-in* (rather than changing to Latin *-em* or the rarer *-im*); it shared this peculiar privilege with a number of other Greek borrowings.<sup>39</sup>

B. The alternative to borrowing the two Greek words would have

been a semantic adaptation of inherited Latin elements to cover the concepts. Indeed, several such expressions were found: conditor, which had the same literal meaning as was behind ποιητής ('one who puts together, makes'), provides an example of the direct calque. Auctor, literally 'one who makes increase', is a variant of the same process. Scriptor was also called into service. But all three of these words were too strongly associated with their general meaning. Conditor could refer to any number of professions; nor was auctor restricted to the literary domain. Scriptor was more narrow, but at least since Herodotus the distinction had been made between verse and prose, and Latin had clearly decided to restrict ποιητής to the former. No short cuts were available. To avoid the Greek loan, one had to say carminum conditor, carminum auctor, or carminum scriptor. In Greek, on the contrary, ποιητής had retained its original literal meaning side by side with the new figurative one, apparently with little cause for confusion.<sup>40</sup> Latin, less blessed with this particular genius -- but having, in recompense, a model to follow -- opted for the simplest solution: poeta and poesis were accepted with little resistance.

In many other cases, semantic calques drove the borrowed words right out of the language. Sometimes several attempts were necessary before the mot juste was found. Marouzeau writes of Cicero's experiences in 'nativizing' certain Greek concepts:

Nous le voyons tenter quatre équivalents successifs pour rendre l'essentiel σωφροσύνη (Tusc. III, 8, 16-18): "quam soleo tum temperantiam, tum moderationem appellare, nonnumquam etiam modestiam, sed haud scio an recte ea uirtus frugalitas appellari possit." Pour rendre κοινωνία, il dit d'abord societas mortalium, humana societas, puis cherche un mot unique: commu-

nitās, consortio, consociatio, avant de s'aviser que le latin dispose d'un équivalent approximatif: humanitas, qui, chargé d'un sens nouveau, portera en lui un des aspects les plus beaux de la pensée antique.<sup>41</sup>

Sometimes the search for an acceptable equivalent took centuries. To express Greek πάθος, Cicero tried motus animi, commotio, morbus, and finally perturbatio, which received his preference; Aulus Gellus proposed affectus or affectio; but it was Augustine, translating and expounding upon the Christian mysteries, who finally created an ideal and enduring Latin calque: passio.<sup>42</sup>

The breach between adaptations (such as poeta) and calques (such as passio) is, in reality, a narrow one. The far greater gulf is that separating a 'nativized' element (either of the above types) from the direct use of a foreign element. The average man in the street, after all, is not an etymologist (or at least not a very good one), and while the morphological incongruity of poeta bonus might have struck a Latin speaker as odd if he ever stopped to reflect on it -- just as un buon poeta might strike an Italian under similar circumstances -- there were in his language a multitude of elements that did not fall into line with the general patterns. πολιτής, on the other hand, sounding blatantly foreign, was far more likely to offend nationalistic sensitivities and be scorned.

If chauvinistic fervor becomes strong enough, if ideologization of the language reaches a sufficiently high point, even nativized elements from a resented 'high' language may come under attack. The literate faction of the community, writers and educators, who are charged with elaboration of the language and who also have the best knowledge of etymological origins (though in absolute terms even their knowledge may be

scant), are best able to root out the undesirable sounds, forms, words, and phrases from their own usage. Literary Rumanian, it is said, changes its color like a chameleon in response to the political environment; writers can consciously select elements that will highlight either the Slavic or the Romance background of the language, in order either to affirm their solidarity with the East European Soviet bloc or, conversely, to assert their individuality within it. But it is unquestionably easier to ferret out and ideologize those elements of a language that are pointedly non-native. The linguistic reforms legislated in France in 1977, aimed at 'purifying' the language by purging it of English loans,<sup>43</sup> may (if they have any effect at all) give Frenchmen cause to wince a bit when they pronounce such unadapted Anglicisms as le week-end, le parking, les hot-dogs; but little or no inroad has been or will be made against le sport, le déodorant, le whisky, all of which coincide with or have been adapted to French phonotactic patterns.

Language elaboration, then, generally consists of two consecutive phases: first, the period of transference of concepts and linguistic elements from the 'high' language to the emerging vernacular;<sup>44</sup> secondly, the period of nativization, in which nationalistic sentiment causes elements of the 'high' language to be rejected and replaced either by forms adjusted to fit the structural patterns of the vernacular, or by calques. Obviously, nativization cannot progress toward completion without severe changes taking place in the diglossic situation. The vernacular, newly enriched on the model of the 'high' language, is now capable of being employed in more of the standard-language functions formerly reserved for the 'high' language. While the diglossia is unlikely to be abolished altogether (Latin, in some ways, remains

the 'high' language in European countries still today, and French is retained in a number of 'high' functions in Rumania), the elaborated synecdochic variety of the vernacular, with each new context of usage it appropriates from the old dominant language, will gradually rise from 'low' status toward 'high'. Vernacular dialects other than the synecdochic remain at the 'low' level.

Elaboration does not get underway until the vernacular starts increasing its functional sphere. A 'high' language whose reign begins and ends before the 'rise' of the 'low' can certainly influence the vernacular dialects to a greater or lesser degree, but it cannot contribute directly to the avant-garde elaboration of the vernacular synecdochic dialect. Thus, Turkish cannot be considered a model and source in the elaboration of Standard Rumanian.

Change of vernacular function does not occur without strong resistance. Prejudices die hard, and one will inevitably encounter the opinion that the vernacular is not suitable for use in formal domains.<sup>45</sup> Much of the resistance comes from the higher social strata, those persons who are able to handle the 'high' language and who may have expended a good deal of effort in learning to do so. In effect, this opinion is simply a survival of the 'ineloquent' and 'barbarous' characterization of the vernacular in its earliest days of acculturation. The epithet remains long after it ceases to have any basis in reality. And this is not difficult to understand. Why should the upper classes be anything less than reluctant to give up one of the hallmarks of their status? Even though (perhaps unknown to them) the prestige standard of the 'new' diglossia is likely to be their own focal variety, nevertheless it will

be too similar to the jargon of the masses and too easily accessible to them. Furthermore, one must not think that change of vernacular function occurs in vacuo. It is nearly always accompanied by other facets of acculturation (often resulting in the creation of an entire middle class), and occurs in an atmosphere of change, perhaps even upheaval, that gives the upper classes good reason to feel wary.

Surprisingly, however, a good deal of resistance to change of vernacular function comes from the lower classes, those unable to speak or write the 'high' language of the original diglossia. They include, in nearly every society, a faction of conservatives who support the rights and privileges of the upper classes and, in effect, condone their own subservient condition. Perhaps these people are motivated by fear of the upper classes, or by the hope that they themselves may one day be elevated; perhaps they are just plain ignorant.

Still more interesting is resistance from those who recognize that function change can be a barrier to social elevation. One motive for using the vernacular in standard-language functions is to promote the instruction of the public at large. But, as I have already pointed out, change of function and form are inextricably bound. One does not occur without the other; in general, it is probably function that leads, form that follows more or less closely. The point is that the lower classes cannot long employ their language in standard-language functions before it ceases to be their language. Looking again to the history of English:

. . .it was almost unanimously agreed, during the greater part of the sixteenth century, that the English language in itself could not reproduce the eloquence or elegance of other languages, ancient and modern; and also that attempts to render an English style eloquent through

the introduction of neologisms and rhetorical devices defeated the purposes for which the vernacular was used -- the instruction and edification of the unlearned -- by the obscurity and difficulty of understanding thus created.<sup>46</sup>

Here was resistance coming from both ends of the diglossic spectrum. Those concerned with popular instruction eventually had to realize, however, that elaboration could not be halted, that its advantages outweighed its disadvantages, and that the masses still had a far better opportunity for education with a Latinized English as the 'high' than they had had under Latin or Norman French.

### 6.3. The creation of adequacy

Once underway, elaboration can be achieved in a relatively short period of time, if worked at consistently and effectively. German provides a good example:

... it was between 1700 and 1775 that the German language developed into a literary language of infinite richness and subtlety ... represented by the marvelous instrument that the German language showed itself to be in the hands of the young Goethe. That was around 1770. But if one looks at the way German was written in 1700 one can easily understand the general discontent with it as a medium of literary expression at that time. What is not so easy to understand is how the German language of 1700 could ever have developed into that of 1770. How was this miracle possible? But it was not a miracle. It was a process of steady and often quite conscious development in which widely differing forces took part.<sup>47</sup>

The elaboration of German that was accomplished in seventy-five years had been worked at for the preceding three centuries. Yet comparatively little headway had been made. Resistance from neither diglossic pole had been unusually repressive. True, a severe questione della lingua at the low end of the spectrum, with opposing dialectal factions, had hampered progress

after the beginnings made by Luther. Can it be that until the time of Leibniz there were not people interested in and capable of undertaking the elaboration? Surely there were many; but we must assume that their combined force (weakened by continued factionalism) was not enough to combat the feeling of German ineloquence and the various types of resistance to elaboration. Nationalism was not yet sufficiently strong.

The fact remains that elaboration results from the collective work of individuals. The role of a single person as prime mover in the case of certain languages is well known; but that one person cannot perform the entire elaboration himself. Others must be involved in and continue his work. Italian was elaborated at an early date, thanks not only to the *primum mobile* effort of Dante, but equally to those who followed him -- Petrarch, Boecaccio, and a continuous line of successors. Luther's groundwork did not provide similar results because historically he stood alone. The same is true of Agricola, the first elaborator of Finnish; his efforts were not wholly lost, but after his death centuries passed before anyone seriously attempted to expand further the functional range in which Finnish was used.<sup>48</sup>

Elaboration can take unusual twists. Standard Rumanian was elaborated in the 1820s and 1830s by a group of Muntenian writers and grammarians spearheaded by Ion Eliade Rădulescu. Their work was '... decisive for the subsequent development of the vocabulary and syntax of literary Rumanian. Together, this group of writers showed their compatriots how to make Rumanian the equal of the other Romance languages as a vehicle for literature.'<sup>49</sup> The movement

continued in the years that followed: 'Les progrès réalisés par l'organisation de l'enseignement, la création de la presse et du théâtre, dans la deuxième moitié du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle, ont contribué à l'élargissement des fonctions de la langue littéraire.'<sup>50</sup> But during this period, elaboration began to follow a different course -- or rather, several different courses -- which, to the twentieth-century view, led it astray:

Much of the later 19th century Rumanian literature is in fact less close lexically to the present-day language than are the works of the 1830s, because of the many and varied theories which were subsequently put forward as to the ideal composition of the literary language. Ultimately, however, theorists and writers realized that Eliade and his colleagues had found the most acceptable solutions to the major problems involved in the creation of a modern literary language.<sup>51</sup>

The lesson to be learned here is that a working mode of elaboration, if interrupted, can be resumed.

At some point in the course of elaboration, the tide of sentiment turns. Expressions of the language's ineloquence become the exception rather than the custom. Like the elaboration itself, this change in opinion can come about apace or pas à pas, and correlation between the two is common but not necessary. With English, the shift was abrupt; the 'acorns' of 1564 completed their metamorphosis into 'grain' by the end of the century:

Whatever may have been the original cause of the outburst, the important moment arose when writers, most of whom were familiar with classical rhetoric, ceased to view their audience as an unlearned crowd, and were moved not by the desire to instruct the uneducated but to express their own concepts and inspirations. No longer was the vernacular only a practical instrument, the efficacy of which depended upon simple clarity and humble plainness; it was, instead, a free medium of

expression, in which brave new words and elaborate figures could puzzle or displease whom they would. Though past values and attitudes linger on, eloquence in English compositions becomes an accomplished fact, and the rhetorical potentialities of the mother tongue are revealed once and for all. The rude, gross, base, and barbarous mother tongue recedes into the past, and its place is taken by an eloquent language, confidence in which mounts higher and higher until it yields nothing even to Latin and Greek.<sup>52</sup>

A telling example is furnished by comparison of the following passage from the dedication to the first edition (1563) of Alexander Neville's translation of Seneca's Oedipus --

For I to no other ende remoued hym from his naturall  
and loftye Style to our corrupt and base, or as al men  
affyrme it: most barbarous Language.

-- with its counterpart from the revised edition (1581) of the same:

For I to no other ende remoued hym from his naturall  
and loftye Style to our corrupt and base, or as some  
men (but untruly) affyrme it: most barbarous Language.

The well-known words of Richard Mulcaster (from The first part of the elementarie which entreateth chiefe of the right writing of our English tung, 1582) manifest the completion of this change in attitude and reveal how closely it is connected to nationalistic sentiment:

I loue Rome, but London better, I fauor Italie, but  
England more, I honor the Latin, but worship the English.

The speed of such reactions may be increased or reduced by trends of nationalistic or regional chauvinism, the quality of literary output, the strength of the resistance, and so forth. But professions of the vernacular's eloquence are a sure sign that it has 'arrived' -- has risen, by virtue of function and form, to the 'high' end of the diglossic scale. The second step of its standardization is, by and large, complete (though, as pointed out earlier, elaboration

of the language, on a smaller scale than during this period of intense shaping, will continue in perpetuum.)

#### 6.4. Elaboration and language structure

In the preceding discussion, I have skirted the details of language elaboration in favor of an overview of the general pattern. I have spoken simply of 'elements' added to a language during its elaboration, in order to avoid specifying their linguistic domain -- phonology, morphology, syntax, prosodics, lexicon, semantics, etc. Most of the sources I have quoted concentrate on the syntactic and lexical aspects, for reasons that should become clear as I proceed to examine each domain and the nature of elaboration within it.

Phonology. This is the rarest area for elaboration to occur. There are examples, however. In the formation of Haitian Creole, the entire French front rounded vowel series (/y ø œ/) became unrounded and merged with /i e ε/. But in urban creole speech, /y ø œ/ have subsequently been restored to the standard phonological system as a result of diglossic contact between the two languages.<sup>53</sup> The phonological structures of some Western languages have been elaborated by the addition of previously unknown combinations of phonemes, taken over from such 'high' languages as Latin and, primarily, Greek. Neither French nor German had word-initial /ks/ until this structure was borrowed from Greek (xylophone, Xylophon); other languages, such as English, have adapted many or all such foreign elements to native patterns (thus xylophone with initial /z/). The rarity of phonological elaboration

is probably connected to the fact that in phonology, more than in any other area, every natural variety and dialect contains sufficient resources not only to fulfill the immediate needs of its possessor culture, but also any amount of new matter the culture might import in the future. Phonology is a 'closed system'; elements do not need to be added to keep up with semantic growth. A comparatively small number of phonemes will combine into an astonishingly large number of syllables and words.

Morphology. Loans in this area are considerably more common. The 'high' language may have categories of number, gender, case, tense, mood, aspect, and so forth, not distinguished in the vernacular; but again, natural systems seem to be sufficient in this regard. Morphology is also a closed system. There are examples of nouns and verbs with dual number -- an Indo-European category lost in Latin but retained in early Greek -- that appear in Latin literature. The highly productive Latin suffix -issa (whence French -esse, Italian -essa, Spanish -esa, Portuguese -êssa) was a Greek loan.<sup>54</sup> The first and second declension nominative plural inflections -ae and -i, which, coming from the pronominal paradigm, replaced the inherited -as, -os of Latin nouns, may conceivably have done so under tutelage of the identical Greek development. Declensions of nouns like poesis have already been discussed. Latin and Greek have left morphological traces upon English and German (more so than upon the Romance languages). Thus English must list among its plural morphemes -a, -ae, -ata, -es (/iz/), and -i, as in phenomena, antennae, schemata, crises, magi. But this is a marginal type of elaboration, because these morphemes are not productive -- that is,

they are not used to form the plurals of new words created in the language. As so often befalls elements that deviate from a language's more general patterns, many of the English plurals are being replaced by analogical forms, at least in popular speech: phenomenons, schemas (cf. Standard French phénomènes, schémas). Words like data and bacteria, used more often in the plural than in the singular (datum, bacterium), have become construed as singular in most people's usage, with the result that new plurals datas and bacterias (or, quite frequently, bacteriae -- repeating the confusion that occurred in the history of Latin between second declension neuter plurals and first declension feminine singulars) are created.

Prosodics. Like phonology and morphology, this is basically a closed system, admitting little opportunity for elaboration. However, one example has already been cited: the presumed borrowing of the Greek pitch accent by speakers of certain upper-class Latin dialects.

Lexicon. This is the most obvious locus for elaboration, and indeed most of the sources quoted in this section have confined their concern to it. The human mind has a definite 'Wörter und Sachen' orientation, and the new objects and ideas deriving from cultural expansion will not be felt as belonging to the vernacular-speaking community unless they have a name.<sup>55</sup> Lexicon is an open system, and elements are added as needed, without numerical limit.

However, most linguists tend to feel that elaboration of lexicon is more peripheral to the language than that of 'structure' -- i.e., phonology, morphology, syntax, prosody:

... if there is any order in the likelihood of borrowing, vocabulary comes first (constituting, as it were, only the bricks of the structure -- and even

vocabulary items are generally naturalized phonologically and morphologically in the accepting language), and syntactic and prosodic features come last.<sup>56</sup>

On this basis, for example, English is classified as a Germanic rather than a Romance language, although its total lexical inventory (insofar as is determinable), including 'learned' words acquired through elaboration, is well over 50% Neo-Latin.

The coexistence of these popular and professional views, neither of them 'incorrect', is somewhat paradoxical. The architectural metaphor is good, however, and lends itself to further extension: the average non-architect is likely to regard the bricks as the most important feature. If asked to describe or identify the edifice, his first response is likely to be 'the red brick building' or the 'white stucco house', ignoring the more crucial structural make-up, which, unless he is trained to look for it, or unless it is glaringly eccentric, does not strike his eye. The architect, like the linguist, sees through to what is underlying.

When Hebrew was revived for modern use, its most immediate needs were obviously lexical. Two researchers, working independently, have traced the methods used by Eliezer Ben Yehuda (who is sometimes called the 'father' of Modern Hebrew) in filling the gaps.<sup>57</sup> 'Summarizing the results of these investigators, we note four ways by means of which Ben Yehuda consciously created new Hebrew forms:

'1. He took Classical (Biblical and Mishnaic) Hebrew words that were not in general use at the time and gave them a new meaning he required, often only remotely connected to the original form in the Sacred Texts.

'2. He extracted roots from existing Biblical Hebrew, Mishnaic Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Targumic Aramaic and

Talmudic Aramaic and invented new Hebrew words from them, based on common Hebrew word-patterns. This method of root extraction he applied even to some Biblical Hebrew proper names, provided that the same root appeared in Aramaic or in Arabic in common nouns.

'3. He formed Hebrew words on the basis of existing Arabic words and roots, with proper allowance for the appropriate sound changes between the two languages.

'4. He produced Hebrew words on the basis of European languages, in particular, on the basis of Latin and Greek words found in the Mishna and the Talmud.<sup>58</sup>

These four options are not listed at random, but in their order of preferability to Ben Yehuda. Only if no word or root were to be found in the sacred texts did he look to Arabic; and only as a last resort did he seek a remedy from outside the Semitic family. Obviously, he incorporated a very rigorous procedure of control (see Chapter Seven) directly into the elaboration process.

Semantics. Semantic elaboration -- new meanings attached to previously existing words -- may be considered a sub-type of or an alternative to lexical elaboration (the addition of new words, though not necessarily of new meanings). A word in the 'high' language may lend its meaning to a similar (often etymologically derived) word in the 'low' whose sense differs. Or a heterosemic word in the 'high', one of whose meanings is expressed by a given lexeme in the 'low', may lend its other meaning(s) to that 'low' lexeme as well.

A semantic extension may also be internally generated; an example is my adaptation of the poetical terms 'synecdoche' and 'synecdochic' to the linguistic sphere, discussed above.<sup>59</sup> Semantics is an open system, but semantic elaboration is limited by the tolerability of the confusion stemming from growing polysemy.

Syntax. Is syntax a closed system, like phonology and morphology,

or open, like lexicon? Structural linguistics traditionally viewed syntax as closed -- the finite set of sentence patterns that no one ever quite had time to treat once phonology and morphology had been dealt with. The transformational-generative revolution began by reversing that situation; syntax was accorded all the attention it had previously been denied. The TG school founded itself on the premise, inherited from the structuralists, that syntax was a closed system whose rules (and, in some versions of the theory, transformations) could be enumerated and tabulated in a comprehensive algebraic system.

The generativists got more than they bargained for. What the years of intensive inquiry into syntax ultimately revealed was that it is not a closed, but an open system.

The attempts by Gross and his co-workers to write a comprehensive generative grammar of French led them to two definitive conclusions: that 'no two lexical items have identical syntactic properties';<sup>60</sup> and that 'syntactic rules are always limited to certain lexical items'.<sup>61</sup> Lexicon is unarguably an open system. If, then, syntax is dependent upon lexicon, it too must be treated as an open system -- though potentially of a lesser degree of 'openness' than lexicon possesses.

While this discovery means the ultimate failure of generative grammar,<sup>62</sup> it helps account for a number of phenomena that occur regularly in the process of language standardization. One crucial fact -- sometimes difficult for linguists to grasp, though perfectly obvious to most laymen -- is that certain activities and offices commonly associated with 'civilization' involve very intricate, often

ritual modes of thought and of speech. Examples of such functions are: the practice of law; the study of physical sciences and medicine; the observances of religion; the development of a unified, comprehensive, ongoing tradition of philosophy; the keeping of detailed historical chronicles; and, connected with all of the above, the creation of a writing system and subsequently of a prose literature. All of these count among the 'standard-language functions' discussed in the preceding chapter. They are areas to which a vernacular aspires in its acculturation. To the best of our knowledge, our current international tradition in all these areas (with the exception of writing systems) stems from innovations by individuals whose native language was Greek. It does not seem likely that Greek was gifted with any unusual flexibility of syntax that preordained it to be a fitting vehicle for (let alone to inspire) complex modes of ordinate and subordinate thoughts and statements; yet, if it had been syntactically rigid to any degree, it is possible that such developments could have been hindered or retarded. Any inherent malleability of Greek syntax is less important than the plain fact that it was twisted into previously unknown patterns in these pioneering legal codifications and arguments, physical and philosophical treatises, chronicles, and other prose works (and again, at a later date, in the New Testament and Septuagint). And as I have stressed repeatedly, every subsequent culture that adopted these offices and modes of thought was obliged, by the necessity of having to translate the attendant complexities, to subject its own language to these same twists and bends not inherently natural to it.

This is not to say that 'uncivilized' languages -- that is, those

of 'uncivilized' or 'primitive' peoples -- are necessarily characterized by syntactic simplicity. On the contrary, the literatures of many such languages are filled with complexities of word arrangement undreamed of by the Western imagination. Greek verse literature, in fact, though stemming from a much older, more 'primitive' tradition, is syntactically more 'difficult' (at least to the view of the foreign observer) than all of the 'civilized' prose modes just discussed.<sup>63</sup> But it is not so much a question of more difficult, more intricate, or more abstruse syntax; the important point is that these civilization-connected functions involved new, previously unused syntactic elements. The very idea of logicity was part of the development of Greek philosophy; it was a great innovation, and required sentence structures which (in the early stages) were relatively simple, but which were unknown and hence necessitated some readjustment in the language itself, as well as in the thought processes of those who dealt with it.

Some of these syntactic elements may be used only once or twice, often in direct translation. Others will find a secure place in the structure of the language being elaborated. Palmer's survey of Latin syntax lists fourteen examples of the latter type, modelled on, borrowed directly from, or influenced by Greek.<sup>64</sup> Close notes five major syntactic patterns in Rumanian that were borrowed from or influenced by other languages (mainly French) during the third and fourth decades of the 19th century, the period of the most active and decisive elaboration.<sup>65</sup> In truth, when one examines the history of a language, it is difficult to determine whether a particular element has been borrowed piecemeal from another language, or whether perhaps

it has been latent in the recesses of the native stock until the time of its first appearance. Borrowings are still harder to distinguish from marginal native resources when the 'high' language is genetically related to the acculturating vernacular, as in the two cases just cited. Some of the examples listed by Palmer and Close may have existed in an earlier stage of the vernacular, lapsed into oblivion, and been reintroduced by borrowing or calquing from the 'high' language. We cannot determine whether the persons who restored them knew of their previous existence, or believed they were adding something totally new to the language (unless an explicit statement is made to either effect). In any case, resurrection under the 'high' language represents avant-garde elaboration no less than borrowing and calquing do.

Rather than introducing specific constructions, syntactic influence from the 'high' language may instead take the form of a general tendency. The first major prose works in Finnish were translations of the Vulgate and other Latin religious texts made by Agricola during the period 1544-1552.<sup>66</sup> The language of the translations shows a great many instances of syntactic calquing, all the more striking because of the inherent inflexibility of Finnish syntax.<sup>67</sup> Although few of Agricola's calques have survived, they are accredited with having induced a general loosening of Finnish word order.<sup>68</sup>

In syntactic as in morphological elaboration, one may distinguish productive from non-productive types.<sup>69</sup> But there is a great difference between syntax and lexicon on the one hand (open systems), and phonology and morphology on the other (closed). It is impossible

to list fully the syntactic resources of any language, since, as discussed above, they are infinite. Any of us may create a syntactic innovation during daily linguistic intercourse. Literary works are traditionally the gauge and record of syntactic usage; but innovation in syntax is perhaps the first and foremost goal of literary art. As a result of these factors, any syntactic elaboration of the vernacular, productive or non-productive, is likely to be accepted as part of the language's resources, and not regarded as 'foreign' in the way that an innovative morphological elaboration would be.

#### 6.5. Remedial and cosmetic elaboration

Based on the above considerations, I think it necessary to distinguish two new sub-categories of elaborative elements. Phonological, morphological, and prosodic elaboration do not, in the main, add anything to the expressive resources of the language. Syntactic, lexical, and semantic elaboration, in many cases at least, permit things to be said in the vernacular that otherwise would have to be expressed in the 'high' language. Henceforth, I shall apply the term remedial elaboration to those elements that actually fill or obviate a substantial inadequacy in the language, no matter at what level (phonological, lexical, etc.) they occur. The borrowing of poetical terminology from Greek into Latin is an example.

On the other hand, the addition of pénis (from Latin) and phallus (from Greek) to the French language by anatomical writers of the Renaissance did not enrich its expressive facilities; a double redundancy was created, for the native word verge was readily available, understandable to all, covered everything the two learned words did,

and had no overtly salacious overtones. Pénis and phallus were borrowed because, basically, they 'sounded nicer', and as 'classical' words exhibited more scholarly dispassion. Such additions to a language are part of its standardization, but do not extend its capabilities of expression. I shall henceforth term them cosmetic elaboration.

Closed systems such as phonology, morphology, and prosody are 'closed' because they are sufficient within every language. There is rarely any need for elaboration in these areas, so that when it occurs it is almost always of the cosmetic type. Open systems such as syntax, lexicon, and semantics permit ongoing elaboration and even require it under certain sociocultural circumstances. An acculturating vernacular must undergo remedial elaboration in its open systems, and one would suppose that a certain amount of cosmetic elaboration in these areas is an unavoidable concomitant.

Of course, the borderline between cosmetic and remedial is somewhat subjective. A particular author might find the multiple choice of verge, pénis, and phallus indispensable to his work, if only that it allows him greater variety. On the other side of the coin, it is probably true that most things can be said in any language, given sufficient circumlocution. For my purposes, I will provisionally restrict 'remedial elaboration' to those elements in whose absence a circumlocution of considerably greater length would be necessary to fill the semantic lacuna.

I think it will be worthwhile to review the various examples of elaboration discussed in this section, classifying them according to this new criterion. A question mark means that my judgment concerning

the item is tentative; the numbers in parentheses refer to pages in the text:

	<u>Remedial</u>	<u>Cosmetic</u>
Phonological		Fr., Ger. initial /ks/ (← Gk.) (145)  Haitian Creole /y ø œ / (← Fr.) (145)
Morphological	? Lat. <u>-issa</u> (← Gk. <u>-ισσα</u> ) (146)	Engl. pl. morphemes ← Gk. & Lat. (146-7)
Syntactic	Lat. structures ← Gk: ?3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, ?14 (n. 64)  Rum. structures ← Fr: 1, 2, 3, 5 (n. 65)	Finn. <u>Isä meiden</u> , Ger. <u>Vater unser</u> , Swed. <u>Fader vår</u> (← Lat. <u>Pater noster</u> ) (n. 67)  Lat. structures ← Gk: 1, ?2, 6, 9 (n. 64)  Rum. structures ← Fr: ?4 (n. 65)  Rum. <u>a avea</u> , <u>a face</u> + INF. (← Fr. <u>avoir à</u> , <u>faire faire</u> ) (n. 65)
Prosodic		Upper-class Latin pitch accent (← Gk.) (126)
Lexical	Engl. <u>abstand</u> , <u>ausbau</u> (← Ger.) (124)  ?Fr., Engl. <u>fragile</u> (← Lat.) (127-8)  Fr. <u>déodorant</u> , <u>hot-dog</u> , <u>parking</u> , <u>sport</u> , <u>week-end</u> , <u>whisky</u> (← Eng.) (138)  Lat. <u>camelus</u> , <u>cholera</u> , <u>idolum</u> ; <u>poesis</u> , <u>poeta</u> (← Gk.) (126-7; 135-7)	Fr. <u>pénis</u> , <u>phallus</u> (← Lat., Gk.) (154-5)  ?Ital. <u>collera</u> (← Lat.) (127)
Lexical-Syntactic	Engl. <u>ala</u> (← Fr. <u>à la</u> ) (n. 69)	
Semantic	Engl. <u>synecdochic</u> (124)  Lat. <u>frugalitas</u> , <u>humanitas</u> , <u>passio</u> (← Gk. <u>σωφροσύνη</u> , <u>κοινωνία</u> , <u>πάθος</u> ) (136-7)	

To summarize: The prerequisite for vernacular acculturation is an educated community of focal speakers. Their education must be carried out in another language, since the vernacular has never occupied standard language functions and hence does not have the necessary resources in its open systems. The job of this avant-garde is to provide the vernacular with those resources, which will be borrowed from or modelled on the 'high', and may subsequently be modified or replaced by native elements. This process is called elaboration. Acculturation triggers remedial elaboration in the open systems, and may occasion cosmetic elaboration in both the open and closed areas.

Elaboration is probably the most important and decisive step in language standardization, for even more than codification it is responsible for the inevitable metamorphosis that distinguishes the standard language from the base synecdochic dialect.

Within a language, elaboration is counteracted by the opposing and complementary tendency of control, the topic of the next section.

Notes to Chapter 6

<sup>1</sup>The term 'elaboration' has been used in this sense for a number of years (at least since Haugen 1966b), and has also been adapted to denote the structural expansion of a pidgin as it undergoes creolization. Yet within sociolinguistics, 'elaboration' must compete with an overlapping term -- Bernstein's 'elaborated code' -- which, though denoting a wholly different entity, can nonetheless result in occasional confusion (witness Haugen's [1966b: 931] erroneous declaration of their similarity). The concept of 'elaborated code' as developed by Bernstein (1966; 1974) involves social-psychological factors within the individual speaker, universalistic vs particularistic meanings, and the predictability of syntactic and lexical elements in the utterance, to name only some of its aspects. The relation of any such considerations to the standardization process has yet to be investigated, and I think it best, for purposes of the present study, to dissociate myself completely from Bernstein's theoretical and terminological framework. Previous investigators of standardization who have attempted to incorporate Bernstein into their own work have either misrepresented his views, or burdened their studies with a quagmire of irrelevant information, or both.

I should point out that the opposite of Bernstein's 'elaborated code' is 'restricted code'; the opposite of my 'elaborated' language is 'non-elaborated' language.

<sup>2</sup>Haugen 1966b: 931.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Wurm 1968: 358-359: 'Since every natural language constitutes a reference system for the culture within which it has been developed, it stands to reason that every language is adequate for the expression of, and reference to, the sum total of the cultural concepts making up the culture to which it belongs, and undergoes changes in accordance with changes of this culture. It stands equally to reason that any language is inadequate for the expression of a culture to which it does not belong, this inadequacy increasing in direct proportion with the degree of difference between the culture to which the language belongs, and the one which it is expected to express.'

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Tauli 1968: 14: 'A popular fallacy among linguists is the statement that anything can be expressed in any language. Needless to say, this assumption has never been empirically proved. On the contrary, no language can express everything adequately: the whole physical and psychical reality, all the shades of human thought and feelings, not to speak of abstract theories ... '.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Haugen 1966b: 927.

<sup>6</sup>Wurm 1968: 360.

<sup>7</sup>Fishman 1968a: 10.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Tauli 1968: 14: 'It is particularly in the periods of cultural revolution that language lags behind needs ... '.

<sup>9</sup>Marouzeau 1949: 138.

<sup>10</sup>See Friedlander 1944; Marouzeau 1949: 125-141; Palmer 1954: 95-147; Pulgram 1975: 31 (fn. 11), 32, 40-41, 77, 88, 119, 122 (fn. 96), 287, 289-290; Kahane and Kahane 1979: 183-184, 193.

<sup>11</sup>Marouzeau 1949: 138.

<sup>12</sup>Pulgram 1975: 88.

<sup>13</sup>See below, p. 152, and n. 64.

<sup>14</sup>See Marouzeau 1949: 128-132, 136-139.

<sup>15</sup>Pulgram 1975: 119, 289-290.

<sup>16</sup>For examples, see Palmer 1954: 242, 243, 249.

<sup>17</sup>Like his predecessors and most of his successors, Palmer simply classifies these as parallel developments, ignoring the possibility of borrowing.

<sup>18</sup>Pulgram 1965; 1975: 131-134.

<sup>19</sup>Numerous examples are quoted in Jones 1953: 3-31.

<sup>20</sup>Sauvageot 1973.

<sup>21</sup>Haugen 1966a.

<sup>22</sup>Blackall 1978.

<sup>23</sup>Close 1974.

<sup>24</sup>On Latin and the elaboration of Western languages in general, see Blatt 1957 a and b; Devoto 1957; Nykrog 1957; Sørensen 1957; and Sommerfelt 1957.

<sup>25</sup>Browning 1969; Costas 1936.

<sup>26</sup>Beeston 1970.

<sup>27</sup>Deshpande 1979: 34.

<sup>28</sup>Fellman 1973.

<sup>29</sup>Kratochvíl 1968.

<sup>30</sup>On the diglossia between Latin and Croatian, see Franolic 1972: 26-27.

<sup>31</sup>Harries 1968; Whiteley 1969.

<sup>32</sup>Passin 1968: 450-451.

<sup>33</sup>Cf. Harries 1968: 416-417, on Swahili's 'retreat from Arabic'.

<sup>34</sup>The nature of creole-speaking societies has led many analysts to discard the diglossic model in favor of the 'post-creole continuum' (see, for example, De Camp 1971a: 31-32; 1971b). I have elsewhere expressed my dissatisfaction with continuum-type analysis in linguistics (Joseph 1980: 139, n. 12).

<sup>35</sup>Cf. Fellman 1973: 11-13.

<sup>36</sup>Cf. Jones 1953: 32-67. One of the great debates of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was whether the Bible should be translated into English. At issue was not only the 'barbarousness' of the language, and whether it could do justice to God's great mysteries, but also the question of whether these mysteries should be put at the disposal of the masses, or kept reserved for the lettered few who could fully appreciate them. Although not in keeping with the spirit of Christian doctrine, similar attitudes have affected the elaboration of every modern European language.

<sup>37</sup>Cf. pp. 126-127.

<sup>38</sup>The paradigms, including only the cases and numbers Greek and Latin had in common:

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ	ΠΟΙΗΤΑΙ	poēta	poētae
Gen.	ΠΟΛΗΤΟΥ	ΠΟΛΗΤΩΝ	poētae	poētārum
Dat.	ΠΟΛΗΤῆ	ΠΟΛΗΤΑῖς	poētae	poētis
Acc.	ΠΟΛΗΤῆν	ΠΟΛΗΤάς	poētam	poētas
Voc.	ΠΟΛΗΤᾶ	ΠΟΛΗΤᾶί	poēta	poētae

One may argue whether the nominative singular was changed by analogy with other first declension nouns, or whether it was replaced by the vocative. It is possible that the vocative was substituted precisely because it made for a better fit with the general pattern.

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	ΠΟΙΗΣΙΣ	ΠΟΛΗΣΕΙΣ	poēsis	poēses
Gen.	ΠΟΛΗΣΕΩΣ	ΠΟΛΗΣΕΩΝ	poēsis	poēsium
Dat.	ΠΟΛΗΣΕΙ	ΠΟΛΗΣΕΩ	poēsi	poēsibus
Acc.	ΠΟΛΗΣΙΝ	ΠΟΛΗΣΕΙΣ	poēsín	poēsis
Voc.	ΠΟΛΗΣΙ	ΠΟΛΗΣΕΙΣ	poēsis	poēses

Other Greek-derived nouns retaining Greek inflectional forms in Latin include heros (acc. sg. heroa), lampas (acc. sg. lampada), basis (gen. sg. baseos, acc. sg. basin), tigris (acc. sg. tigrin tigrida), nais (acc. sg. naida).

<sup>40</sup> Greek writers, at any rate, did not feel the need to make the meaning explicit through periphrasis. Perhaps this was a particular quality of Greek -- the ability to extrapolate an almost infinite number of never-before-conceived meanings from its native stock of morphemes and to keep those meanings distinct, with little difficulty, from the original semantic sense, which was also preserved. Such a feature, along with the ability to combine morphemes almost without obstacle, may help explain why Greek is the archetype of standard languages, the model on which all subsequent languages, directly or indirectly, have based their standardization.

<sup>41</sup> Marouzeau 1949: 139-140.

<sup>42</sup> Marouzeau 1949: 140.

<sup>43</sup> In its actual wording, the law forbids use of 'foreign' words in advertising. The primary intent, however, is that which I have stated.

<sup>44</sup> I use 'transference' instead of its morphological doublet 'translation' in order to avoid confusion. Translation, in the form of calquing, plays a part in the 'nativization' process.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Shaffer 1978: 61.

<sup>46</sup> Jones 1953: 68.

<sup>47</sup> Blackall 1978: 2.

<sup>48</sup> See Sauvageot 1973.

<sup>49</sup> Close 1974: 254.

<sup>50</sup> Rosetti 1973: 136.

<sup>51</sup> Close 1974: 254.

<sup>52</sup> Jones 1953: 169-170.

<sup>53</sup> Ferguson 1959: 336; Valdman 1968: 316-317, 321.

<sup>54</sup> Palmer 1954: 177.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Pulgram 1954.

<sup>56</sup> Pulgram 1975: 99.

<sup>57</sup> Sivan 1961 and Weiss 1961.

<sup>58</sup>Fellman 1973: 66.

<sup>59</sup>Other examples of semantic elaboration may be found on pp. 135-137 above.

<sup>60</sup>Gross 1979: 860.

<sup>61</sup>Gross 1979: 873.

<sup>62</sup>Hence the title of Gross 1979.

<sup>63</sup>This is due more to what is left unsaid than to the actual order of the words present. Literature is created within a long tradition that allows the author to assume a great deal of information already possessed by his audience. Hence its obscurity to us who lie outside that tradition. (See Steiner 1975, especially pp. 1-31). Non-fiction prose arose as an innovation, and could assume no tradition of previous knowledge. The very fact that everything needed to be spelled out forced authors into untrodden syntactic modes.

<sup>64</sup>These are : (1) attraction from nominative into vocative case of adjectives modifying nouns in the vocative (Palmer 1954: 286); (2) use of accusative of respect with reference to parts of the body (288); (3) use of neuter accusative of respect (internal accusative) with nouns and adjectives (not restricted to pronouns) (289); (4) extension of the partitive genitive (291-292) as well as (5) of the dative of location (298); (6) comparative construction with quam (300); (7) gnomic use of perfect (307-308); (8) 'optative' use of perfect subjunctive (3rd person sg.) with indefinite subject pronoun (315); (9) imperative use of infinitive (318); (10) use of nominative with infinitive following verbs of saying and thinking (320); (11) direct object governed by accusatorial gerund (modelled on Greek accusatorial articular infinitive with object accusative) (322); (12) extension of genitive of purpose (after Greek genitival articular infinitive) (323); (13) use of particle (quamquam, etsi, ut, etc.) plus present participle (cf. Greek constructions with  $\kappa\alpha\iota\mu\epsilon\sigma$ ,  $\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ , etc.) (326); (14) specialization of the pluperfect subjunctive in iterative function (modelled on use of Greek optative in past iterative clauses) (341).

<sup>65</sup>Close 1974: 219ff. The five patterns are:

- (1) 'la plus the accusative as an alternative to the inflected dative'
- (2) 'the present participle-gerund in -ind(u), -ind(u) as a declinable adjective'
- (3) 'the indefinite pronoun cineva used similarly to French on and German man'
- (4) 'the infinitive as an alternative to (ca) sã plus the subjunctive'

- (5) 'a passive voice formed with a fi as an auxiliary verb'.

Of these, only (2) can be claimed with absolute surety as a wholly foreign innovation without parallel in any earlier stage of Rumanian. This construction, whose borrowing is attributed to Eliade (see pp. 142-143 above), was widely accepted by 19th-century writers. 'Although it has been granted only marginal acceptance in the modern literary language, it can be defended on the ground that it brought a new stylistic and semantic device into Rumanian, and at the same time strengthened links with French, from which language it was doubtless borrowed by Eliade.' (224).

(1) '... may have been in part a native development.' (220). As for (3), in most cases of its use it is clearly a direct calque, but cineva '... was occasionally used by earlier Rumanian writers as an indeterminate subject (i.e., instead of the 2nd person singular or the 3rd person plural).' (220). Interestingly, its functional domain may have been restricted: 'The frequency of this construction in the original works of Eliade and Aristia suggests that it was well established in their speech; but apparently neither they nor Alexandrescu and Boliac regarded it as suitable for poetry.' (226).

Of the five borrowed constructions, (4) was and is the most widely used (226). It existed in Old Rumanian, but by the beginning of the 19th century was restricted to certain fixed expressions (220). 'Although the frequency of this construction in Modern Rumanian is due to foreign influence -- primarily French -- it has been fully accepted in the literary language, and is regarded by grammarians as a stylistic gain ...'; however, '... although the infinitive is often an acceptable alternative to a subordinate clause, the latter is still preferred. Moreover, in a few types of subordinate clause the infinitive is now regarded as incorrect, although it is still used by some writers.' (226). Close lists eleven infinitive constructions '... used by some or all of the writers of the 1820s - 1830s ... which are still accepted in modern Rumanian ... The increasing frequency of their occurrence was ... certainly due to foreign influence.' (227-231). Two are described as obvious Gallicisms: 'The infinitive dependent on the verb "to believe", e.g., crez a o vedea (from Alexandrescu) (228); and 'The infinitive characterizing the complement of the verb "to be" ('... calqued upon such French expressions as Il est homme à se défendre.'), e.g.,

Zic, nu-s negustorŭ să vînz,  
Nici nu-s oameni lucrători,  
A se scula pînă-n zori

(from Mumuleanu) (229).

Also listed are six uses of the infinitive borrowed in the early 19th century but no longer in general use.

(5) was quite clearly modelled on French. 'The passive formed with a fi and the past participle was clearly a recent innovation, for only one writer, Boliac, used it with any frequency.' (233). 'A fi had previously been used with a past participle only

when the latter had adjectival force.' (220). 'The fact that Eliade and Alexandrescu used it chiefly in their translations suggests that its subsequent popularity was due more to French influence than to a native trend.' (233). Eliade and Alexandrescu were strongly inclined toward calquing from French.

Finally, Close cites certain other verbal constructions in use among writers of the 1820s and 1830s -- and most often found in the works of Eliade and Alexandrescu -- that are attributable to borrowing from French, but which have not found a permanent place in the language. 'A avea plus an infinitive is a translation of French avoir à plus an infinitive ...' (233). 'The most widely used French verbal construction is a face plus either the infinitive or the subjunctive, a calque on causative faire faire ...' (234). Such bold calquing, taking little heed of the vernacular's structure, is feasible during the early period of diglossia, when the 'high' is generally known; but it indicates that the writers are addressing their work exclusively to the élite group able to function in the 'high'. It seems that in their zeal to make Rumanian unequivocally 'eloquent', they temporarily lost sight of the goals of nationalism and popular instruction.

<sup>66</sup>Sauvageot 1973: 95.

<sup>67</sup>The most notable example, because of its high frequency of usage, is that of the words Isä meiden (literally, 'father of us') with which Agricola began the Pater Noster. Finnish, like every other Uralic language, expresses possession by suffixation. The normally expected rendition would be Isämme ('our Father'), and even Meidän Isämme (corresponding to French 'notre Père à nous') would be acceptable. But Agricola's direct calque goes totally against the grain of Finnish syntax. It was not done without precedent, however; German Vater unser and Swedish Fader vår are equally contrary to normal syntactic patterns. See Sauvageot 1973: 219.

<sup>68</sup>Sauvageot 1973: 378. Certain of Agricola's syntactic borrowings, such as the passive construction, have indeed become permanent features of Finnish, but only following repeated reinforcement from similar structures in other 'high' language (German and, above all, Swedish) that have held sway over it. See Sauvageot 1973: 422-427.

<sup>69</sup>The English construction ala + noun, adjective, verb, or adverb, a comparatively recent borrowing from French (à la mode, à la Parisienne, etc.), falls into the productive category. It has been entirely nativized, so that any idea of feminine gender has been lost; thus ala King (now usually 'ala king'), ala Caruso; I have even seen menus offering shrimp ala broasted and beef ala au jus.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: CHANGES IN FORM: CONTROL

### 7.1. Eloquence versus efficiency

Resistance to elaboration of the synecdochic dialect was examined in detail in the preceding chapter, and numerous reasons for it were cited. Control is in part a direct manifestation of this resistance, in part an independent phenomenon.

To achieve the maximum of eloquence, a language should admit every element from every dialect related to it, tinting each with a finely shaded nuance, then set out to assimilate every other language's elements, and even to create some altogether new ones. This would provide the user with the fullest possible palette for expressing the human experience. A similar belief underlies the work of certain twentieth-century poets, most notably Ezra Pound.

Such deeply nuanced self-expression is, however, the concern of a minute segment of the population. The reading of Pound's cantos requires years of effort and education; 'perfect Poundites' (if indeed any exist) are few in number, and even they, along with the rest of us, are involved 90% of the time with much more shallow, basic modes of communication. To be sure, Pound himself, in his propaganda broadcasts for Fascist Italy -- when the weight was on communicating a specific message clearly and quickly to a large audience -- kept the Classical Chinese to a minimum. At this very pragmatic, pedestrian level of expression, where all humans spend most of our lives and most humans spend all of their lives, the maximum efficiency of communication is

attained by keeping the code down to the basics. This means a Weltanschauung just intricate enough for survival, each of its facets corresponding to one element of the language, each element of the language (save for a few connecting units) corresponding to one facet of the Weltanschauung. The ideally efficient code would admit neither variation nor redundancy.<sup>1</sup>

Obviously, no natural human language resembles either of these extremes. The tendency toward eloquence, which results in elaboration, and the tendency toward efficiency, which results in control, are both integral parts of a language's standardization. Carried to virtual completion, elaboration produces the language of Pound, control the language of the computer ( -- how interesting that the latter should be comprehensible to substantially larger numbers of people than the former!). In the normal development of a standard language, however, the two forces maintain an unsteady balance, the scale tipping in alternate directions throughout the life of the language.

As a general rule, elaboration triggers control. Jones describes how this process occurred in the history of English:

The Elizabethans had sought to make their language eloquent rather than grammatical; in fact, Sidney thought it was better for not being subject to grammatical regulation, and Mulcaster expressed doubt that it could be confined within strict limits. The seventeenth century accepted the characterization of the language as eloquent, and set about to make it grammatical.<sup>2</sup>

The literature contains no adequate discussion of control as the counter to elaboration, either because the investigator did not recognize it as such, was not interested in deriving the theoretical aspect from his case study (e.g., Jones) or listing of examples, or, most commonly, took 'control' to be synonymous with 'standardization' rather

than as a specific sub-process within it. A number of those writing on the subject have vacillated indiscriminately between these broad and narrow meanings, even within the same article.

My own view is that control serves a twofold purpose: first, to limit new elements threatening to enter the language; secondly, to hierarchize previously established variants (some of which may subsequently be eliminated).<sup>3</sup>

This consolidation of linguistic resources provides additional socio-political benefits. Weinreich writes that '... it is part of the process of standardization itself to affirm the identity of a language, to set it off discretely from other languages and to strive continually for a reduction of differences within it.'<sup>4</sup> Individuality and solidarity of language promotes national identity and unity, which in turn furthers social well-being. Fishman has marshalled data from two cross-polity surveys indicating a direct correlation between a nation's linguistic homogeneity and its level of urbanization, gross national product, literacy rate, and numerous other indices.<sup>5</sup>

## 7.2. Limitation and hierarchization

Prospective new elements subject to limitation by the control process can come from several sources. Avant-garde elaborations enter through the upper social strata, usually the seat of the standard dialect. Those who carry out the control process (the 'controllers', whose identity is examined in 7.3.) are charged with guarding that this elaboration take place in a non-reckless manner and not produce forms deviating drastically from the language's structural patterns. Cosmetic elaboration in particular is held in check, subjected

to scrutiny, evaluation, and often ridicule; then either is allowed to go its way without further protest, or else is rejected as unfit (though this does not exclude its ultimate acceptance in the standard dialect). Remedial elaboration too is regulated; various possibilities for filling the apparent lacuna (e.g., through calquing, borrowing, semantic adaptation) are compared, and either a single solution is selected as appropriate, or the range of suggestions is hierarchized (see below).<sup>6</sup>

At somewhat lower social strata, one is likely to find persons who have the standard dialect within their repertoire, but whose focal dialects diverge from it considerably. This situation of 'varieties in contact' is fertile ground for linguistic change -- specifically, for the assimilation of elements from these speakers' focal dialects into the standard.<sup>7</sup> This influx too is regulated by the control process. The attitude toward these 'lower-class' elements is very different from that toward the avant-garde elaborations suggested by more prestigious individuals. Surprisingly, however, their provenance does not usually work to their disadvantage: nationalism promotes them as 'native stock' and 'symbols of the national genius', in contrast with the foreign-derived elaborative borrowings. If the context of the times favors nationalization rather than internationalization of the language and culture, the addition of these elements to the standard may be not only tolerated but even encouraged.

I am using the term 'element' without restriction; in addition to all structural features of the language (grammatical gender, tense-aspect structure of the verb system, phonemic structure of particular lexemes, etc.), it includes all processes (morphophonemic alternation,

syntactic transformations, etc.). Any linguistic change making its way along the routes of communication within a diasystem would also be included, and may enter the standard dialect through either the avant-garde or the lower-class channel, or through both at once. In the name of control, these evolutionary trends may be pointed out and held up to disgrace and disparagement; they may attain wide recognition as indices to their users' social origin and level of education.

Besides linguistic changes that reach the standard dialect from elsewhere, internal innovations may occur. In fact, the typical standard abounds in innovation, the result of being used in functions from which other dialects are excluded. If detected, these changes are also likely to be castigated and to earn for their users the (often false) reputation of not knowing the standard well.

Control is usually triggered very early in the elaboration process, when those in positions of authority begin to find their language becoming somewhat foreign to them. Often, a number of avant-garde elaborations get firmly entrenched before adequate control mechanisms can be set in motion. However, even before elaboration every variety has countless groups of elements in 'free' (stylistic) variation -- allophones, allosyntagms, allollexemes, and so forth. This will come to the attention of those entrusted with control as soon as people begin teaching the language to foreigners and codifying it. Controllers are traditionally intolerant of such variants, which betoken a falling short from the ideal of 'one meaning, one form'. If the compilers of grammars and lexicons are not content to list the variants without commentary, the normal procedure is to hierarchize them -- that is, to rank them in order of 'preference'.<sup>8</sup> The possible criteria are

the same as those for the limiting of new elements, and are discussed in detail below. Subsequent reaction to the hierarchization is widely variable: any or all of the 'non-preferred' elements may continue to be accepted, provoking no reaction when used; they may be merely frowned upon, or loudly decried; attempts may even be made to eliminate them from the standard dialect altogether.

### 7.3. The controllers

Control is the product of individual decisions, and many people's efforts may enter into the process. Yet the number of those who work at control full-time is very small. Most are appointed or drawn to the task *ex officio*. Even grammarians (see below) focus their attention on codification, rather than on limitation and hierarchization *per se*, and most occupy teaching positions as well.

The major exception to this trend of 'non-professional' control are the linguists and educationists employed by national governments on their language planning boards, now nearly a staple in newly developing countries.<sup>9</sup> Scandinavia has long been associated with language planning activities, and indeed every Scandinavian country today has at least one such permanent committee or commission.<sup>10</sup> International commissions on specific languages, jointly sponsored by several governments, also exist: the East African Swahili Committee and the Hausa Language Board are two of the best known.<sup>11</sup> The ideal functions of a planning board are admirably set forth in the Swahili Committee's constitution:

- (i) Standardizing orthography and obtaining complete inter-territorial agreement.
- (ii) Securing as far as possible uniformity in the use of existing

- and new words by the exercise of control over the publication of school and other dictionaries.
- (iii) Securing uniformity of grammar and syntax throughout the publication of standard books on the subject.
  - (iv) Giving encouragement and assistance to authors whose native tongue is Swahili.
  - (v) Giving advice to all prospective authors concerning books which they propose to write.
  - (vi) Procuring the revision where necessary of the language of approved Swahili textbooks and books of a general nature already published.
  - (vii) Drawing up an annual programme of Swahili books required under the headings (a) Textbooks, and (b) General Literature.
  - (viii) Making arrangements for translating into Swahili of the textbooks and books of a general nature selected, or for direct authorship in Swahili of such books.
  - (ix) Examining and where necessary correcting the Swahili of such textbooks and general literature before publication.
  - (x) Revising and giving advice concerning the matter of all Swahili books that are dealt with by the Committee.
  - (xi) Supplying authors with information as to methods of teaching in vogue in the various territories.
  - (xii) Answering general inquiries regarding Swahili language and literature.
  - (xiii) Undertaking such other activities as may be deemed incidental and conducive to the attainment of the foregoing objects.<sup>12</sup>

Items (ii), (iii), (vi), (ix), and (x), and in part (v) and (xii), constitute the actual hierarchization and limitation. The degree to which all the goals listed are fulfilled furnishes the measure of a planning board's success.

The language academy differs from the planning board mainly in the qualifications for membership and in the spirit and point of view under which it is constituted. Its actual functions vary little from those listed above. Members are usually chosen on the basis of literary merit, and, depending on the academy, the post may be largely or wholly honorific. Other potential members are renowned educators, philologists, grammarians, and lexicographers, with an occasional linguist included for appearance's sake. While the underlying philosophy of a planning board may be called optimistic -- improvement of the

language and the linguistic situation is sought -- that of the academy is pessimistic -- the language is perceived as being threatened with imminent decadence, and the goal is to forestall this for as long as possible. This difference is reflected in the membership criteria: one becomes eligible for the academy by setting down some indelible monument in the mother tongue.

Not all academies are state-sanctioned or state-funded; several have had to rely on the good will and even the financial support of their members during at least part of their history. Yet the academy often commands a feeling of respect and authority that the official body with power of legal enforcement cannot match. In addition to the planning board's tasks, the academy typically undertakes or underwrites the compilation of an 'official' dictionary and grammar; in fact, along with the establishment of a uniform orthography, these may be its most important contributions.

Twentieth-century linguistics has given us the language planning board and made the academy seem a relic of a bygone age; yet we know that popular attitudes about language are inclined far more toward the 'academic' than toward the 'linguistic'. The great academies -- most notably the Romance bodies, the Académie Française (founded 1635),<sup>13</sup> the Real Academia Española (1713) with its affiliated Latin American and Philippine academies,<sup>14</sup> and the Accademia della Crusca (1582, reorganized 1583)<sup>15</sup> -- are still with us, but their existence is shadowy, their influence meager. Founded on faith in aristocratic usage, they are perhaps a subtle victim of the democratization of education that has taken place over the last century. However strong their authority may once have been (this varied from country to country), their grand

accomplishments belong to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and their present status is summarized by an unidentified commentator's view of the Swedish Academy (founded 1786): it 'maintains its authority by not exercising it.'<sup>16</sup>

Most governments have a ministry of education; many even boast a special ministry of language. Depending on the country's political and cultural structure, a number of decisions regarding control may fall to these bureaus. This is often the impetus for the founding of a language planning board. Even so, these boards tend to have advisory rather than sovereign status, and the final word is the ministry's. The minister and his immediate underlings are likely to be professional politicians with varying degrees of training in the area they are to direct; consequently, one should not be surprised to see their decisions tempered more by political than by linguistic concerns.

But control took place long before there were planning boards, academies, or ministries. It was an easier matter in the past, when the standard dialect was the exclusive property of an aristocratic few, whose teachers, forming a society unto themselves, could debate and agree upon uniform practices with comparatively little difficulty. In sixteenth-century Spain, for example, men of letters gravitated toward Madrid, the newly established national capital, where they carried on linguistic debates and '... rapidly settled their differences, chiefly through the comedia, which served both as the theatre and as the journalism of that age.'<sup>17</sup> In such a 'free enterprise' situation, a dominant individual could emerge as ultimate authority -- though seldom without a vicious climb to the top, eliminating all rival arbiters. The comedians of Madrid were largely reacting to Nebrija's autarchy

over preceding generations.<sup>18</sup> Bembo had similar prominence in Cinquecento Italy,<sup>19</sup> as did Malherbe and later Vaugelas in seventeenth-century France,<sup>20</sup> Gottsched and later Adelung in mid-eighteenth-century Germany.<sup>21</sup> In more recent times, the standardization of Demotic Greek is attributed to the efforts of a lone man, Triantaphyllidēs, in the late 1930s.<sup>22</sup>

Academies represent an attempt to organize and systematize individual grammarians' efforts, which might otherwise be repetitious and largely wasted. But the presence of a strong academy or planning board in a country has not eliminated the free-lance grammarian or lexicographer, as the status of Littré, Grevisse, and Robert attests. Using his journal Lingua Nostra as a forum, Migliorini secured his position as l'ultima voce in the control of Italian and held it for over thirty years despite a plethora of capable and eager competitors. All professed users of Standard English find themselves under the watchful guard of Murray and Fowler; the American must also contend with Webster, Follett, Nicholson, Mr and Mrs Evans, Mr and Mrs Morris, and Edwin Newman, to name but a few.<sup>23</sup>

Other groups of ex officio -- more accurately, per necessitatem -- controllers include missionaries, who must subdue the language of the targeted pagans in order to subdue their souls;<sup>24</sup> domestic clergy, who act as constant mediators between the vernacular-speaking masses, the upper-echelon clergy, the central see, and the corpus of religious texts, often very diverse linguistically; and guilds of merchants and traders, whose needs may parallel those of both missionaries and domestic clergy.<sup>25</sup> In addition, other, more specialized guilds and associations are responsible for control decisions specifically concerned

with their field, which the more broad-based controllers may then transmit to the public at large.<sup>26</sup>

Indeed, every decision on control requires publication and implementation if it is to have any influence. This executive function is largely the teacher's task;<sup>27</sup> he is handed compendia of limitations and hierarchies legislated by the authorities named above, and is charged with instilling at least the major points into his students' usage.<sup>28</sup>

The contributions of planning boards, academies, ministries, grammarians, missionaries, clergymen, guilds, and teachers have long been recognized. But there is another large group whose influence is perhaps the strongest of all, yet who have rarely been taken into consideration. I refer to all who hold some type of editorial position in one of the various communications media -- publishing, broadcasting, cinema, recording, advertising, and others.<sup>29</sup> Typically, the writer serves as the instrument of elaboration; his function is to sweep with bold new gestures beyond the bounds of hitherto accepted usage. The editor -- who, significantly, has the final say in linguistic matters --<sup>30</sup> controls the new utterance, first by deciding whether it is suitable for publication, then by suppressing those instances where the writer has produced, not innovation adding to the language's resources, but mere self-indulgent novelty. This is an especially crucial role, since grammarians and lexicographers rely so heavily on literary citations. The examples at their disposal are, with few exceptions, the outcome of previous sifting by one or more editors.<sup>31</sup>

Thus, although the editor has dictionaries and grammars stationed at his desk, and is in large measure an implementor of control,

the vast majority of linguistic innovations reach his desk before coming to the attention of grammarians and official controllers. It may even be he who refers a matter to these established authorities. But far more frequently, finding no precedent to which he can turn, the editor himself makes the decision regarding limitation and hierarchization. Facing a deadline, he assumes the judicial as well as the executive function. Planning boards, academicians, and grammarians, after all, may discuss their abstract, often ideological matters ad infinitum; the editor must decide here and now whether the sentence before him will be acceptable to the targeted reader, viewer, or listener. No one will overrule him, but he will be brought to task for any wrong judgment. These considerations lead me to believe that editors may well play the single most direct role in linguistic control today.

#### 7.4. The criteria of control

On what bases does one decide whether gonna is going to be admitted to the standard, which pronunciation of forehead is preferable? Jespersen pointed out that no general criterion of 'efficiency' can be found or applied, since the exigencies of communication vary vastly depending on speaker, audience, and circumstance.<sup>32</sup> He proposed a cycle of seven criteria or 'standards' one may invoke in deciding linguistic questions:<sup>33</sup>

1. The standard of authority. One seeks the opinion of the Ministry, the Academy, or some other official body, and holds it as sovereign.

2. The geographical standard. It is widely believed that the standard language, in 'pure' form, is spoken in a particular location.

'There is no Real, Genuine, or Pure English, French, etc., and there never has been. But the chimerical idea of a standard dialect still persists.'<sup>34</sup>

3. The literary standard. The practice of consulting the usage of 'the best authors' in making control decisions. Jespersen notes the logical circularity inherent in this criterion: 'We set up as the best language that which is found in the best writers, and count as the best writers those that best write the language.'<sup>35</sup>

4. The aristocratic standard. The usage of the highest social classes should be followed. 'In spite of the difficulty of defining which higher class is to be regarded, it cannot be denied that with this standard ... we have got hold of something that is important.'<sup>36</sup> The aristocratic standard finds support not only among the upper classes, who gladly concur with the opinion that their usage is the best, but also among the lower classes, who want nothing more than to imitate the habits of the 'refined' as a means of advancing their own social position.

5. The democratic standard. The usage of the majority of people within the language community should be followed. Jespersen points out the difficulties with this criterion:

The only thing that, according to this point of view, is to be taken into account is the number of those who use a word or a form. In cases of doubt one ought therefore to take a census or have a referendum. But suppose there were 50 per cent on each side, or that three forms had each the same number of adherents? And what should be done with all those people who, if they were honest, would be bound to confess that they did not know what they said, or that they hesitated between two forms? Would it be necessary then to find out statistically the frequency with which they actually used the two forms? It would be obviously impracticable to apply the theory rigidly.<sup>37</sup>

6. The logical standard. '... the Logical standpoint, the standpoint of Thought, which passes judgment on the correctness of an expression according to its agreement with the universal laws of thought.'<sup>38</sup> This criterion often stands in direct contrast to the democratic principle. If 90% of the anglophone population say It's me, including persons from every social class and locality, controllers will still disallow it if they invoke the 'logical' criterion and refuse to admit the use of an object pronoun in subject position.

7. The artistic standard. Jespersen dismisses as illusory the use of 'artistic sense' or 'aesthetic feeling' as a criterion of control. Language precedes linguistic aesthetics; no element is intrinsically more beautiful than any other, and if it is perceived as such, this sense is doubtless dependent upon one's prior linguistic experience.

Jespersen concludes that none of the seven criteria is sufficient individually, but that all may be useful in varying degrees.<sup>39</sup>

No similar or alternative system was proposed until Ray's, nearly forty years later, which views control as based on 'three necessary components':

- A. Efficiency, in the sense of maximal adaptation to a specified range of expense of human resources.
- B. Rationality, in the sense of maximal correspondence to such objectively valid knowledge as is locally and contemporarily available.
- C. Commonalty, in the sense of maximal adoption as a token of a unified life of language use.<sup>40</sup>

No factor comparable to (A) is found in Jespersen's system (if pressed, one might force it into the 'artistic standard'); (B) corresponds to Jespersen's logical standard, and includes as well some aspects of the artistic standard; (C) is Jespersen's geographic, democratic, aristo-

cratic, and literary standards combined. Ray is undoubtedly justified in not including a 'standard of authority' in the same list with these directly applied criteria.

Each of the two proposals has shortcomings: Jespersen's seems too loosely structured, Ray's too narrowly telescoped. The system I am about to propose is an attempt to build on my predecessors' strengths, combining Jespersen's thoroughness of detail with Ray's tighter organization, while adding a number of important factors which neither took into account.

The easiest, safest, and probably most common method of solving a problem of control is to refer it to someone of 'higher authority', whether or not this person functions in an official capacity. He, in turn, may refer it to someone still higher. Eventually, however, the buck must stop, and we reach the person who legislates the actual decision, who determines the actual rules. My inquiry will focus on limitation and hierarchization at this ultimate stage only. Though the criteria are very numerous -- limitless, perhaps -- I think they can be divided into two basic types: first, the normal, in which the only factor is a norm; secondly, the extra-normal, which I will subdivide into economy, logic, purism, and connotation.

Norm. A control decision may be based on the usage of the majority of cases. In other words, the prescription -- which I will henceforth call the rule -- may be based on an empirical description of the norm. Following Groenke 1966, I am restricting the term 'norm' to this descriptive, usage-defined sense, and ignoring its possible prescriptive interpretations.<sup>41</sup>

'Normality' (i.e., constitution of and adherence to a norm) is a fundamental characteristic of natural language use. Norms may be determined for every variety and dialect,<sup>42</sup> even for individual persons.<sup>43</sup> Haugen notes the relentless pressures that drive all the members of a speech community to conform, beginning from our earliest years:

Anyone who has observed the process of child learning of language will not fail to note the numerous instances of mutual ridicule and intolerance on the part of the still untutored savages. Schizoglossia [i.e., variation] is rooted out among them by constant correction, which goes far beyond the minimum needs of communication and virtually insists on identity of code. If it were not for this kind of insistence, there would be no language structure and no language history.<sup>44</sup>

The distinctive trait of standardized language, on the other hand, is that in addition to having norms, it is governed by the establishment of rules ('x is not allowed' or 'x is preferable to y') that may fall in line with or totally contradict the norm.

The greater the number of non-normal rules a standard language possesses, the more likely it is to be perceived as 'artificial'. There are certainly no upper and lower limits on how many rules a standard language may contain that violate the norm of its synecdochic dialect. But I think it reasonable to suppose that the overwhelming majority of a standard's rules must be normal if the tongue is not to be confined to 'classical' status.

The norm is itself a troublesome matter. We know logically that it exists, just as we know that there is a center of the earth. Both, however, are inaccessible to direct observation. All our knowledge of them is inferential, based on generalizations made from what we can observe. Thus, the absolute, objective norm is a hopeless abstraction,

devoid of practical value, that our observations and measurements can only approximate. Since the sample population, the nature of 'usage',<sup>45</sup> and the range of cases examined are all left to the definition of the investigator, a number of different norms are determinable even within a single speech community. There is room for a great deal of subjectivity to be introduced. The investigator can easily force the outcome into a pre-ordained mold, if he so desires; but even if he is honest and tries to work objectively, he can never be completely sure that his samplings are free of ulterior motivation.<sup>46</sup>

Jespersen's 'geographic', 'aristocratic', 'literary', and 'democratic' standards represent nothing more than four different methods of determining a norm, and undoubtedly many others are possible. One might indeed expect the usage of the upper classes to provide the most authoritative norm -- first, because they are more likely than not to be the group for whom the synecdochic dialect is focal; secondly, because they are usually the prestige group that the rest of the community wishes to imitate; thirdly, because the controllers themselves are almost certain to belong to the upper classes, given the types of positions they occupy.<sup>47</sup> But in a modern society free of rigid caste divisions, determining the boundary of a social stratum, then establishing norms within that stratum, is even more difficult than drawing the line between varieties, dialects, and so on. Another circularity of logic threatens: variant x, recorded in the speech of informant A, cannot be posited as part of the upper-class norm until it is solidly established that A belongs to the upper class, membership in which is to some degree determined by linguistic usage.<sup>48</sup>

If the synecdochic dialect is associated with a particular area as

well as with a social level, or if a certain area is currently undergoing a surge in prestige, its 'geographic' norm may cast a deciding vote in the control process. A new element attempting to enter the standard may be allowed to do so, or one variant within the standard may be deemed preferable to another, on the grounds of its association with the prestige area.<sup>49</sup> For example, the voicing of intervocalic -s- is now standard in a growing number of Italian words (casa, naso) where formerly the unvoiced variant was insisted upon. This voicing is a feature of northern Italian dialects (whither it spread from France, the point of origin), and as the prestige of the north has risen, opposition to voiced -s- as standard has decreased proportionately.<sup>50</sup>

All usage, hence every norm, is subject to constant change. This mutability, combined with the large number of subjective factors that enter into determination of the norm, can make the norm's reliability seem very tenuous indeed. The safest bet is to 'have it in writing', from a respected author. The nature of publishing is such that a few citations from a varied range of sources suffice to establish an element as normal. The printed page is solid evidence than mere 'hearsay'. Furthermore, it is permanent: once a literary norm, always a literary norm. The equivalent of Jespersen's 'literary standard', the literary norm forms the basis of some of the greatest monuments of language control: the Oxford English Dictionary, the Dictionnaire Général, Grevisse's Le bon usage, and others of comparable status. Of course, the literary norm can have little application in matters of pronunciation, but conceivably a radio or television program, phonograph or tape recording, or film of sufficient influence could be cited in the same capacity of authority (examples do not abound, however).<sup>51</sup>

As Jespersen indicates, another theoretical possibility is the determination of a more objective, 'democratic' norm through scientific inquiry. This is more feasible today than at the time he was writing. Linguistic atlas materials may already have been collected, and numerous dialect descriptions drawn up, which would eliminate a great deal of the necessary work. Still, for the controller's purposes, a brief survey would not do; only analysis of considerable stretches of discourse could reveal the actual proportions of usage of a given set of variants, since an opinion solicited directly from the informant might well be colored by self-delusion, by his putting on airs in front of the investigator, or both. The biggest problem with democratic norms, however, is that no one really wants them -- least of all the lower classes (including those of allegedly 'classless' socialist societies), who place not only their absolute faith, but also their slim hope for social advancement, in the aristocratically-based standard.

Since, as noted above, one may expect the majority of a standard language's rules to be norm-based, it seems best to take the normal rule as the regular state of affairs, with the non-normal rule as the exception to be accounted for. If, compared with the discussion of extra-normal criteria which follows, my treatment of the normal seems briefer than their importance warrants, it is that, being far more commonly employed, they are less in need of explanation and illustration.

Control decisions are sometimes made with no attempt to consult the norm. Or, one or more norms having been determined through impression, inquiry, or citation, additional factors may be adduced that support, overrule, try unsuccessfully to overrule, or otherwise affect

the creation of a rule from the norm(s).<sup>52</sup> These extra-normal criteria may be classified as follows:

Economy.<sup>53</sup> This criterion is equivalent to Ray's component of 'efficiency'. The most stable elements of a language are those combining high 'functional load' with ease of distinction and articulation.<sup>54</sup> An element so constituted, but not in normal usage, may nonetheless be accorded a high hierarchic position in the standard because of benefits in efficiency it affords. This has been a traditional defense for inclusion in the standard of both learned, classical elaborative elements, and dialectal elements not in aristocratic usage: many accomplish in one or two syllables what would require long periphrasis in strictly normal speech or writing.

An interesting illustration of the economic criterion is furnished by Fowler's rule on the pronunciation of English idyl(1).<sup>55</sup> The Oxford English Dictionary recognized only [əɪdl̩] (rhyming with American English title),<sup>56</sup> not even mentioning the variant [ɪdl̩] (rhyming with middle). Despite the OED's authority, and despite his own awareness that it was not the normal pronunciation at the time he was writing (1920s), Fowler decided to advocate [ɪdl̩] on economic grounds: it eliminated confusion with idol and idle, both pronounced [əɪdl̩] and both commoner words.<sup>57</sup>

Logic. This is equivalent to Jespersen's 'logical standard'. Every language has normal elements condemned by the controllers as illogicalities. Some are successfully denied standard status (e.g., the English double negative, as in I didn't see nothing [≠ I saw something]); others achieve it notwithstanding (e.g., the Italian double negative, as in non vidi niente). Among non-normal elements admitted

to the standard because of their logicality, I may cite the English and Danish subject pronouns employed in 'predicate nominative' position (it is he, det er jeg).<sup>58</sup>

Two contrasting examples of logic applied to the control of the French prepositional system may be noted. Standard French has traditionally required that à be used in the syntagms aller à bicyclette, à moto, etc.; and that no other preposition but dans express what on lit dans le journal, dans un registre. Analogy is presumably the force behind the variants aller en bicyclette, en moto (cf. en voiture) and sur le journal, sur un registre (cf. sur un mur, sur l'affiche, sur cette page), all of which are common -- even statistically normal for some groups. In typically unpredictable fashion, aller en bicyclette has entered aristocratic usage to a significantly higher degree than has sur le journal. Attempts to admit the former to the standard have been countered by the objection that it is illogical, since the rider is not en the bicycle as he is en the automobile.<sup>59</sup> On the other hand, Littré tried to establish standard status for the 'low-class' sur le journal on the grounds that it is wholly logical -- so long as what the speaker has in mind is the flat surface of the newspaper with the words imprinted sur it.<sup>60</sup> At present, neither en bicyclette nor sur le journal is generally recognized as standard.

Purism. This criterion takes different forms depending on what one is trying to preserve: rival factions of 'purists' may emerge in the same place and time to do battle over the same elements. The normal pronunciation of English forte (Generosity wasn't her forte) is probably bisyllabic, a realization of /f<sup>1</sup>orte/ (with, of course, widely divergent executions of the syllable-final /r/). Lexicographers,

documenting the word's derivation from French, insist that we remain faithful to the source language and its monosyllabic /fort/; under their authority the largest band of purists have congregated. Many of these people may be unaware that forte as a noun meaning 'strong point' does not exist in French, that the actual form is fort /for/, masculine. Those who find it out may choose to defect to an alternate camp: one claiming that the word must actually be of Italian origin or borrowed directly from Latin, hence that /f<sup>1</sup>orte/ is indeed the 'purest' realization;<sup>61</sup> or one proposing that the English borrowing be corrected to fort (/for/, or /fort/?).

By this time, chauvinistic schools are bound to emerge: one will claim that /f<sup>1</sup>orte/, being well established as the English norm, is therefore 'pure' English and in need of no further justification; another will roar that the only way to purify English is to rid it of foreign-sounding and foreign-looking words altogether, that the only acceptable form is strong point.

It is not at all unusual for two competing factions to emerge over a language's control, one urging that elements accepted from a prestige language be maintained 'pure' as in the source language, the other demanding that the borrowing language's structure be kept 'pure' and that the elements be naturalized. Such debates are tied to the whole mechanism of acculturation and elaboration, where faithfulness to the prestige 'high' is necessary for the advancement of the 'low' that will eventually overthrow it.

When purism is based on etymological derivation, it makes little difference whether the etymon is accurately determined or wildly guessed. All that matters is what the controller believes. As the

example of forte shows, alternate etymologies may give rise to alternate hierarchies and limitations, and the more convincing the etymology (whether or not it is accurate), the better chance it has of influencing the decision makers.

A further example of etymological considerations affecting control is the attitude toward 'hybrids', words formed with elements drawn from blatantly diverse sources.<sup>62</sup> If not limited from the standard variety, they are, at least, certain to be rated low in their hierarchy -- if, that is, they come or are brought to the controllers' attention. In English, such normal words as finalize, bureaucracy, speedometer, and even amoral came into standard usage only over bitter and protracted objection to their 'bilingual' composition; television and cablegram provoked raised eyebrows but not such stiff opposition. On the other hand, disbelief, tidal, and gullible are as firmly established in the language today as any more 'well-formed' compound.

Another common form of purism consists of adherence to an old rule based on a norm no longer valid, or on extra-normal criteria no longer justified in the changed social context. This is archaism, and its nature should be intimately familiar to any user of Written English, Classical Arabic, or Katharevousa Greek.<sup>63</sup> Elements admitted to the standard do not necessarily lose their status when, through regular linguistic change, they cease to be normal. Even if the French grammarian, knowing that the imperfect subjunctive has long been absent from even aristocratic normal usage, no longer insists upon its use (as he might have done as recently as twenty years ago) following the conditional in a sentence such as je voudrais qu'il vînt (now usually je voudrais qu'il vienne,<sup>64</sup> or in some regions qu'il viendrait)<sup>65</sup>, still

he cannot bring himself to declare it non-standard. He can always cite uses of it in literature to justify its status. Indeed, archaism and the literary norm are closely bound, partly as a consequence of the diachronic durability of writing and the regular inclusion of long-dead informants in the literary sample, partly because archaism depends on writing to preserve and transmit the defunct norms and elements, which might otherwise be forgotten.<sup>66</sup>

Related to archaism is the application of one (usually classical) language's rules to another, as when the controller demands that English data, agenda be treated as plurals -- which, of course, they are in Latin.<sup>67</sup> Depending on the spirit in which these criteria are applied, the charge of didacticism may be justified.

Connotation. It is primarily the 'affective' rather than the 'informative' type of connotation that is involved in control.<sup>68</sup> A normal element's status may be enhanced -- but is far more frequently impaired -- by its 'extralinguistic' associations. Included within this criterion is Jespersen's 'artistic standard'; one encounters examples of elements receiving negative control decisions at least partly because they are not 'aesthetically appealing'. Discussing the word pacifist, Fowler notes that from the puristic, etymological point of view pacificist would be the preferable form, but that the shorter version is supported by 'euphony'.<sup>69</sup> (Perhaps so, but this is hardly relevant given the unchallengable normality of pacifist). An element may be semantically rather than phonologically offensive; it is for this reason that most languages recognize a corpus of profane and obscene words, which, though perfectly normal, economical, logical, and (linguistically) pure, may claim no more than a marginal existence

within the standard.

Words offend for reasons other than obscenity. English nigger was formerly normal throughout most areas and social strata, and has literary credentials extending from the late eighteenth century down through the works of William Faulkner. When blacks began objecting to certain affective connotations the word possessed, its informative content suddenly dropped into the background. This word too was banished to the perimeter of standard usage; its normal status has simultaneously entered into a decline. Jap has had an identical history, and the verb to jew is currently undergoing a similar ostracism.<sup>70</sup>

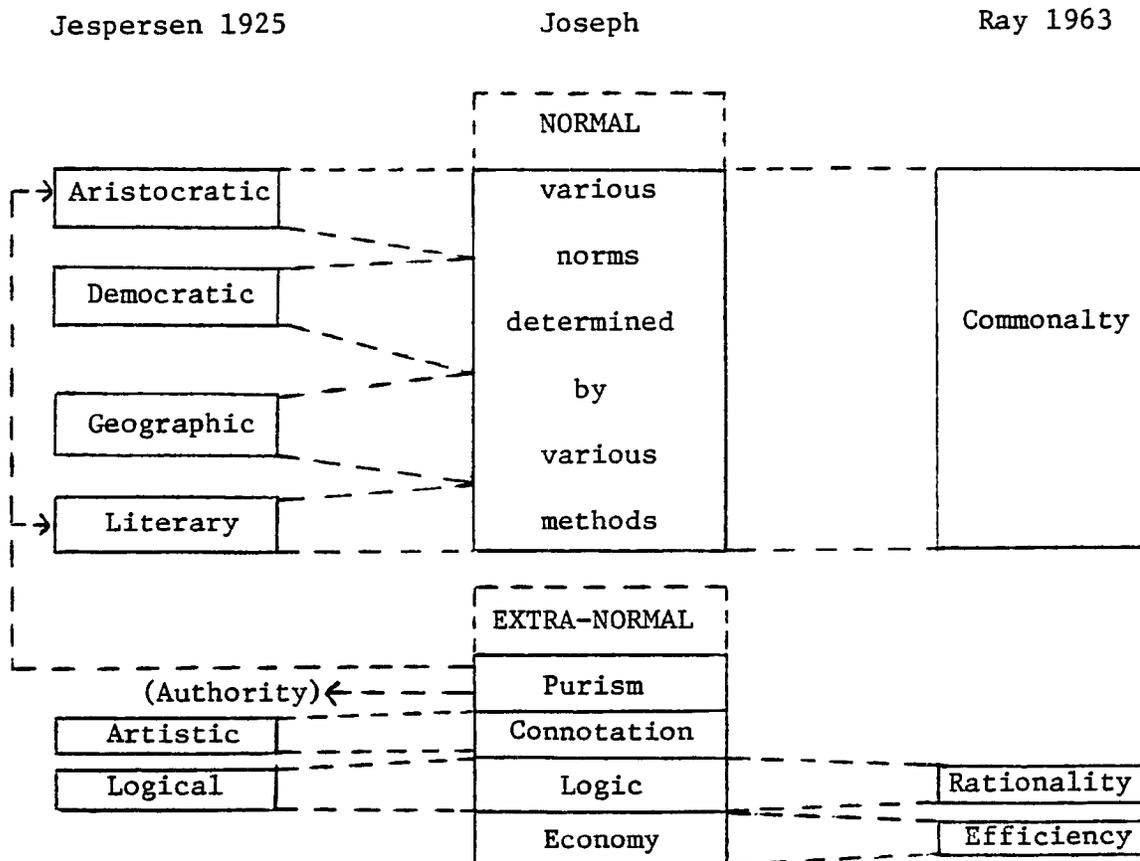
Another type of connotation concerns the identity of certain persons with whose usage a given element is associated. A phrase such as let me make one thing perfectly clear may connote a specific individual (in this case, ex-president Nixon) whose reputation has fallen so low that a responsible controller would have to counsel the choice of some other variant. Similarly, the titles führer and duce are practically proper names. Literary norms may also be affected by changes in status, since an author's 'authority' in citation falls or rises in direct proportion to his literary esteem.

But the effect is not always so personalized. The desire for 'purism' of one's language, in the sense of freedom from foreign-derived elements, is usually motivated by xenophobia toward one or more nationalities. I mentioned earlier the case of Rumanian, which, when the trend of cultural and national sentiment swings toward the East European Soviet bloc, places elements of Slavic derivation higher on the standard hierarchy, but when wishing to emphasize its individuality and independence, accords that place to the Romance elements. Not

unusual is the case of Katharevousa Greek, where ill feeling toward one foreign race (the Turks) led to a general, sweeping purification.<sup>71</sup>

Finally, association with a particular occupation or activity may affect an element's admittance to the standard, even if the element is unarguably normal throughout the language community. The French conjunction par contre (s'il est laid, par contre, il est intelligent) has long been held at the outskirts of standard status because of its origin in and connotation of 'commercial language'. It has entered aristocratic usage, however, and appears likely to win its struggle in the years ahead.

The following chart illustrates the relationship between the system I have just proposed and those employed by Jespersen and Ray:



To illustrate the application of the various criteria, let us imagine that I am the editor of a French-language journal, and am handed an article beginning: Nous on pense que ... Do I or do I not accept this as standard usage?<sup>72</sup> My decision must take account of the following criteria:

**Authority:** Has the Académie issued a formal opinion on the matter?

Are the grammars all in agreement? If so, do I dare face the consequences of allowing any other criterion to intervene?

**Norm:** Is this form intelligible and acceptable to my average native-speaking reader? Is it associated with a particular region within France, or a francophone territory outside the Hexagon? If so, do I wish to have my usage associated with that area?

Does this form represent le bon usage? Do the 'best authors' employ it in their 'best prose', not just when deliberately seeking a colloquial style?

**Economy:** Does the increased semantic specificity justify the apparent morpho-syntactic incongruity and the possibility of confusion?

**Logic:** What is more illogical -- to say on alone when the real intent is nous, or to have two surface subjects?

**Purism:** Should the older forms (on pense, nous pensons) be given up?

Are we to do away with a basic French structural limitation: that two subject pronouns cannot govern the verb unless a conjunction comes between them?

**Connotation:** Does nous on pense sound or look intolerably unattractive, or un-French? Does it clash with the tone of the rest of the journal? Is it associated with any unpopular person, activity, or thing?

Another factor affecting the interpretation of these considerations: are these liberal or conservative times? How liberal or conservative is my readership? Will I and my journal be admired or spurned for taking a risk?

Although control tends to be equated with conservation -- since its explicit goal is to retard or even arrest linguistic 'progress' --<sup>73</sup> liberal, moderate, and conservative trends may be distinguished. As with political leanings, these characterizations may be applied to individuals, groups, or an entire epoch or nation (in which case it reflects the majority attitude, since unanimity is rare at best). Linguistic and political conservatism or liberalism are not necessarily correlated (I need only cite again the example of Ezra Pound). When a sociocultural unit is not stagnant, and its elaborative tendency is strong, the attitude toward control becomes crucial. Too liberal a policy could allow the language to become unruly, overburdened with unnecessary new elements. Too restrictive a policy might be felt as tyrannical, an impediment to further cultural advancement. Of course, an individual or a body of controllers may also vary in their attitudes toward different types of additions, perhaps being liberal toward avant-garde elaborations, conservative toward dialect borrowings; or, indeed, the opposite.

The relationship between linguistic control and general social trends means that the decision I reach in 1980 may not be the same as the one I will reach in 2000, or even in 1981. Nor can the standard language ever be oblivious to the continuous change of the varieties with which it is in contact. The ongoing evolution of these varieties obviously changes the 'objectively'-determined criteria on which

control is based. In this way, linguistic evolution may create pressures on the standard that will force it to change. But, what is more, the subjective aspects -- the economic, logical, puristic, and connotative criteria, as well as the selection of samples for determining the norms -- also change, in conjunction with cultural evolution, and independent of linguistic change.<sup>74</sup>

It would even be possible (if a bit unusual) for an editor to reject nous on pense in 1980, accept it in 1981, but reject it again in 2000. By that time a new variant may have emerged at the dialect level, or upper-class attempts to reinstate nous pensons may have gained a foothold. Perhaps the editor and his contemporaries will have become reactionary with age.

In a sense, norm and rule are variant aspects of the same tendency toward linguistic convergence; hence Havránek's faulty assertion that they differ not in kind but in degree of stringency only.<sup>75</sup> The error lies in the failure to recognize the importance of subjective criteria in the rule-making process. In reality, the relationship of the rule to the norm is determined by the inclination of those doing the controlling.

The great delusion of the lay public is to believe in the absoluteness of these rules, rather than to recognize them as constructs made by men out of their natural linguistic norms. The rules are thought to come first; any deviation from them is taken as a sign of ignorance;<sup>76</sup> and as one ascends the social scale, one finds that people's usage more closely obeys the rules. Since it is nearly everyone's goal to imitate the aristocracy's behavior as an enhancement of

social prestige, it is important to find out those rules and to learn them.<sup>77</sup> Garvin and Mathiot call this the 'frame-of-reference' function of the standard: 'The standard language serves as a frame of reference for speech usage in general by providing a codified norm that constitutes a yardstick for correctness. Individual speakers and groups of speakers are then judged by their fellows in terms of their observance of this yardstick.'<sup>78</sup>

But the average speaker does not resent this sort of measurement; on the contrary, he demands it. The linguist who explains the relative and artificial nature of linguistic standards is regarded by the social climber much as Galileo was looked on by the seventeenth-century church -- as a rocker of the boat, a threat to security.<sup>79</sup> '... for every man wants to know, for his sense of security, how to do things properly and correctly, and he will simply not believe that there is not a proper way for the doing of anything that he does, and he will wish to get himself taught. There will be teachers.'<sup>80</sup>

Whatever its source, the rule means 'the elimination of a need to exercise intuitive judgment in each individual case'; it is

a device for shifting the greater part of the burden of decision to a rote-learned and rote-applied procedure. For example ... any driver must stop his car before a red traffic light without being required to reason about it. The rationale is the general expensiveness of any exercise of intelligence or imagination or common-sense in terms of talent and energy and time. Precious human resources are better used if reserved for the strikingly exceptional cases, for the few and the outstanding.<sup>81</sup>

### 7.5. Control and language structure

Like elaboration, control can affect every facet of linguistic structure: phonology, morphology, syntax, prosodics, lexicon, seman-

tics, discourse. In the closed systems (phonology, morphology, prosodics), where elaboration is rare, control consists primarily of hierarchization of existing variants, plus the checking of linguistic elements and changes entering from other varieties.

To comprehend the nature of standards in each of these areas, let us consider the effect of violating them. I will give in each instance a scientific description of the ailment, followed by its usual diagnosis in the vernacular. The sample sentence: Are you going to the party? (standard American pronunciation: [ɑ:ɪugouɪnt'udəpɑ:ɪdi?]).<sup>82</sup>

Non-standard phonology and prosodics are perceived as a regional, class, or foreign 'accent'; or, in some instances, as a 'speech defect'. ([əɪəgouɪntəpɑ:ɪdi?] or [ɑ:ɪugouɪnt'udəpɑ:ɪti?]).

Non-standard morphology and basic-level syntax fall under the rubric 'bad grammar'. ([ɪugonδəpɑ:ɪdi?]).

Non-standard syntax above the phrase level is regarded as 'faulty rhetoric' -- or, if severely divergent, as 'not English'. (Are you to the party going?).

Non-standard lexicon falls into two categories. The first consists of elaborative words that have not yet entered standard usage; the usual term for these is 'jargon'. The second category is often loosely headed 'slang', even though it contains perfectly normal elements excluded from the standard on connotative grounds (e.g., obscenities). 'Slang' classically refers, however, to new words or new semantic twists that enter a variety and come quickly into vogue, only to fall out of usage with comparable rapidity.<sup>83</sup> (Are you zeebing to the fip?).

Non-standard semantics is classified either as 'mental illness' or

'metaphor', depending on whether the utterer is recognized as a poet. (Are you going to where you are?).

Non-standard discourse, depending on the form it takes, may be seen as faulty rhetoric, mental illness, or great literature.<sup>84</sup> (A: Are you going to the party? B: Yes, last Tuesday.).

A non-standard utterance viewed as shoddy by one generation may be considered great artistry by the next. We see this occur in music and the visual arts as well as in language and literature. Again, this is due to development both of the norm -- that is, of the utterances themselves, which may be influenced into the direction of a particular non-standard utterance that receives widespread attention -- and of the rule, which may change in acquiescence to the evolving norm or through independent motivation.

By limiting new additions and changes, control may be said to 'preserve' (or, less favorably, to 'embalm') the standard dialect. But in the hierarchization of previously existing elements, no factor of preservation is involved. Using the same set of criteria, controllers list groups of variants and determine their order of preferability. Often, only the 'most desirable' choice is determined, leaving the other variants in a single, unqualified heap of unacceptability; in other cases, a relative value is attached to each of the variants.

What happens next is an unpredictable process, as its occurrence or extent cannot be tied directly to any other social, political, or linguistic factor. Once the most preferable variant has been chosen and made public, it comes to be regarded not as the 'best' choice, but as the correct choice -- naturally enough, since it is held to have

been deduced from 'absolute' rules.<sup>85</sup> In their use of the standard language, then, people may be quite uncomfortable with any variant other than the 'correct' one, and it should be no surprise if the non-selected elements suffer a decline in usage. One or more of these variants -- elements which were an integral part of the synecdochic dialect long before the standardization process began -- may even be excluded from the standard language altogether. They are unlikely to drop out simply through the decrease in frequency, since they will receive support from varieties other than the standard. It is a matter of direct eradication.

This procedure is very significant, for here we see control not preserving, but actually altering the structure of the synecdochic dialect. It is an alteration of subtraction, just as elaboration was one of addition, and is yet another step in the differentiation of the standard from its dialect base.

One might expect the eliminated elements to be those placed lowest in the order of preferability (thus, the least prestigious); or, in cases where only the most acceptable variant has been determined, those least supported by the control criteria outlined above. This is not necessarily the case, however. Very frequently, certain criteria are ideologized or otherwise come to have a greater prominence than the rest, either in a positive or a negative direction. One group of controllers might consider the 'democratic' norm reprehensible, to be avoided at all costs, while setting great store by the literary and aristocratic. As a result, variants associated with particular dialects and lower social strata would be the most likely candidates for repudiation, while those attested in the great writings of earlier

periods would be promoted. The outcome would be a rather artificial idiom, archaic in comparison with related dialects. This is no mere hypothetical case; it is the most common -- the 'normal' -- situation, though deviations occur regularly.

The exclusion of certain inherited elements from the standard dialect is a stronger form of the same control process which, in its most basic realization, simply hierarchizes. Taken to its logical extreme, the process would eliminate from the standard all variants except the most preferable. The resultant code, ideally non-redundant, might be the epitome of 'standardized' language, but it would bear little resemblance to any 'natural' human tongue. An example of such extreme control is the creation of Basic English by C.K. Ogden in the 1920s.<sup>86</sup> Here, economy was practically the sole criterion employed in a paring down of structure and vocabulary to the minimum level of communicability acceptable to the creator. In seemingly perverse (but necessary) fashion, the door to elaboration was left open: in addition to its 850 'key' words from Standard English (only sixteen of which are verbs), 'Basic' accepts so-called 'international' words (e.g., alcohol, club, influenza) that have been elaborated into most major standard languages, and permits 'supplementary vocabularies' in specialized fields. The emphasis is on intelligibility to non-native learners of English.

'Basic' has much to recommend it in certain circumstances and contexts. But such radical control automatically removes it from the class of 'natural' languages. The average standard language tempers its tendency toward consolidation with not only a tolerance of, but indeed an insistence upon the resource of a hierarchized or semi-hier-

archized range of variants, necessary for full, nuanced, 'natural' expression.<sup>87</sup>

#### 7.6. Variation in the standard

Determining the maximum and minimum levels of variation tolerable within a language one would agree to call both 'standardized' and 'natural' would be an exacting (though ultimately fruitful) task. Linguists sometimes refer to a language's degree of control, based on the relative amount of variation it admits.<sup>88</sup> Of Modern Standard (Mandarin) Chinese, we are told:

Instead of a concrete norm there is a range of variants ... together with an abstract idea of unity ...<sup>89</sup>

The overwhelming majority of educated speakers of all Chinese dialects share a feeling that some forms, namely those used by educated speakers of Peking dialect, are 'better' or more 'correct' than others ... and most of them agree on what forms these are, although they are usually much more liberal about it than speakers of European languages.<sup>90</sup>

Other languages are portrayed quite differently:

While we have so far spoken of standard languages as if they were a clear and unambiguous category, there are differences of degree even among the well-established languages. French is probably the most highly standardized of European languages, more so than, for example, English or German. French, as the most immediate heir of Latin, took over many of its concepts of correctness and its intellectual elaboration. French in turn became a model for other standard languages, and its users were for centuries nothing loth to have it so considered.<sup>91</sup>

Yet even French has its stretches of uncontrolled wilderness. One must remember that, in the absence of an absolute authority, the possible number of different decisions and hierarchies is equal to the number of individuals working independently at control. The following chart lists twenty French nouns of indeterminate gender, along with the opinions of eight leading authorities, the etymological gender

(an extra-normal criterion), and finally Grevisse's rough but reliable estimate of the current norm:<sup>92</sup>

Noun	Ac	Be	DG	Du	GL	Li	PR	Ro	ETYM.	NORM
alvéole	M	F	M	M~F	M	M	M	M	M	M>F
après-guerre entre-deux- guerres	--	--	--	--	M~F	--	M	M	PP	SD <sup>93</sup>
après-midi	M	F	M~F	M~F	M~F	F	M~F	M~F	PP	M~F
automne	M <sup>94</sup>	M~F	M~F	M>F	M>F	M~F	M	M	M	M>F
avant-guerre	--	--	--	--	M~F	--	M~F	M	PP	SD <sup>93</sup>
chromo	--	--	--	F	M	M	M	M	F <sup>95</sup>	M>F
disparate	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	M <sup>96</sup>	M>F
effluve	M	M	M	F	M	M	M	M	M	M>F
entrecôte	F	M	M	F	F	M	F>M	M~F	PP	F>M
enzyme	F	--	--	M~F	M~F	--	M	F	PP <sup>97</sup>	M~F
H.L.M.	--	--	--	F	M~F	--	M~F	M	F <sup>98</sup>	M>F
interview	F	--	M	F	F	--	F	F	-- <sup>99</sup>	F>M
palabre	M~F	F	--	F	M~F	F	M~F	M~F	F <sup>96</sup>	F>M
pample- mousse <sup>100</sup>	F	F	F	M~F	M~F	M	M~F	M	F <sup>101</sup>	M>F
perce-neige	F	F	F	M	M~F	F	M~F	M~F	VO	M>F
phalène	F	F	M~F	M~F	M~F	F	M~F	M~F	F <sup>102</sup>	M~F
sandwich	M	M	F	M	M	F	M	M	-- <sup>99</sup>	M>F
steppe	F	M	M	F	F	M	F	F	F <sup>103</sup>	F>M
thermos	--	--	--	--	M~F	--	M~F	M~F	M <sup>104</sup>	M>F

Key: -- = not listed; ~ = varies with; > = preferable to/more common than; PP = prepositional phrase; VO = verb + direct object; SD = seman-

tic distinction. Ac = Académie Française, Paris 1932-35; Be = Bescherelle 1847-48; DG = Dictionnaire général [Hatzfeld and Darmesteter 1964]; Du = Dupré 1972; GL = Grand Larousse de la langue française [Guilbert et al. (eds.) 1971]; Li = Littré 1961-62; PR = Robert 1978 [Petit Robert]; Ro = Robert 1966 ['Grand' Robert]).

The linguist bases no value judgment of Chinese or French on 'degree of control'; the non-linguist frequently does. In particular, languages with a great deal of unhierarchized variation (especially in morphology, basic syntax, and basic vocabulary) are looked on by native and foreigner alike as 'irregular', hence 'primitive', hence 'inelegant' and 'unenlightened'.<sup>105</sup> But along with its drawbacks, variation has its advantages. -- and they include more than just 'fullness of expression'.<sup>106</sup> Whiteley calls the widely ranging variants within Swahili '... as inevitable as they are desirable.'<sup>107</sup> Das Gupta and Gumperz explain the functional usefulness of such diversity:

Wherever language variation is regularly associated with speakers' home background or certain role performances, its very occurrence encodes important social information about his interlocutors' social identities, their attitudes, and the probable content of their message. In small, homogeneous, closed groups where actors know each other intimately, and where the range of possible discussion topics is limited, this information is largely redundant. Such communities in fact tend to show a minimum of speech diversity. In complex and industrial societies, however, speakers deal with individuals of widely varying cultural background, whose attitudes and values differ from their own. They frequently know little about their interlocutors. Here clues derived from speech performances serve an important function in evaluating what is said, in singling out some items as more important than others, and in generally facilitating the processing of information.

... communicative efficiency requires only that diversity be controlled; it need not be eliminated. Since codification rules apply only to formal modes of communication, they need not apply to all styles of the standard language. Minor differences in accent do not affect communicability; on the contrary, they serve as carriers of social information.<sup>108</sup>

This passage touches on another important point: the limitations and hierarchies '... need not apply to all styles of the standard language.'<sup>109</sup> More specifically, variants need not be hierarchized only in terms of 'most acceptable', 'second most acceptable', and so forth; the relative appropriateness and preferability of two variants in a given situation might be reversed in another circumstance and context. Nor are the limitations on additions to the standard dialect context-free. The editor of a piece of journalistic prose might quite reasonably blue-pencil as beyond the limits of Standard French, German, Arabic, etc., elaborative elements which would be permitted in a treatise on musicology or chemistry in the same language, or dialect elements which would not be effaced from a work of fiction.

Groups of specialized workers, like any other isolated community, develop their own norms, and those groups whose work includes standard-language functions will have their own special rules as well.<sup>110</sup> Mastery of these norms and rules may be part of one's initiation into the *métier*. Compilers of grammars and dictionaries are ceaselessly bedeviled by the problem of limiting the functional range they can treat, in order to strike a balance between being of use to the widest possible audience and keeping the work to a manageable, compact size.

It is, I think, largely the realization that nothing is absolutely 'right' for all persons under all circumstances that blocks massive elimination following hierarchization. 'Il semble que les normaliseurs soient partagés entre deux désirs contradictoires, celui de définir un usage régulier et aussi celui de ne rien laisser se perdre des éléments ou des procédés dont la langue dispose ou peut éventuellement disposer.'<sup>111</sup> Every loss, no matter how small it seems, is an impoverish-

ment of the language's resources.<sup>112</sup>

### 7.7. Locality and non-locality

Das Gupta and Gumperz also mention the association of particular variants with certain geographical areas and social levels. I have dealt with this in the discussions of aristocratic and geographic norms and connotative criteria. I noted that these ties can work to an element's advantage, or, if the class or area in question is lacking in prestige of one kind or another, to its disadvantage. The precise relationship between the element and the associated geographical or social dialect can assume one of several forms: a) the element may have been borrowed from that dialect into the standard; b) it may originally have been part of the standard and the associated dialect, to the exclusion of other dialects within the language or diasystem; 3) it may be common to several dialects within the language or diasystem, but its presence in the one non-prestige dialect receives widespread attention and is ideologized. The word ain't (<am not), long accepted as the first person singular contracted negative of to be in Standard English, had every criterion operating in its favor: it was indisputably the norm, and violated the tenets of neither logic, purism, connotation, nor economy.<sup>113</sup> Perhaps this was its downfall -- it was too attractive a form; for in many varieties of English other than the standard, ain't overtook the entire present indicative contracted negative paradigm of to be, ousting the inherited aren't and isn't and violating all the extra-normal considerations. This much-disparaged usage became a shibboleth in Standard English, and through such ideologization ain't was irrevocably linked with low-class, unprestigious

varieties, until ultimately it could no longer be tolerated in the standard language, even where etymologically justified. I ain't could be replaced by the alternate contraction I'm not, but no such option existed in the interrogative. Aren't I was analogized from other persons within the paradigm, and although prima facie less normal and logical than ain't I (though just as efficient), it is today the only contracted form accepted as standard.<sup>114</sup>

Another example is furnished by the tense structure of Standard Italian. At the beginning of the century, normal past tense usage had been unified into a hierarchically-predominant rule: the passato remoto and passato prossimo represented a distinction of aspect.<sup>115</sup> It was known that the dialects of the north had been subjected to a linguistic change emanating from north-central France, whereby the simple, synthetic past (passato remoto) ceded its aspectual territory to the compound, analytic form (passato prossimo) and largely fell out of use. In the south of Italy, on the other hand, the much more ancient innovation that had originally brought about the analytic form had never fully penetrated the tense structure of many dialects, so that southern usage was seen as even more conducive to the simple past than was the standard variety.<sup>116</sup> As the years progressed and the industrial north more and more overshadowed the impoverished south, as Milan and Turin grew into powerful rivals of Rome and Naples, and as a northern house was installed on the throne of the newly united Italy, prestige and desirability accrued naturally to whatever was associated with that area. Because of its geographical identification, the passato prossimo began gaining ground in the standard dialect, being admitted in aspects and contexts where previously it would have been frowned upon. The

trend is continuing at the present time, and although disuse of the passato remoto in Standard Italian is not yet foreseeable, it is a potential future development. Here we observe the norm of a particular area affecting the rules of the standard as that area advances into prominence.

The more common situation, however, is that in which any element whose social or geographical connections are evident or become ideologized is placed low on the hierarchy of variants, or even, like ain't, abolished from the standard. Obviously, thorough application of this process is bound to effect considerable change on the structure of the standard dialect. It is, in fact, responsible for the common (and accurate) characterization of most standard languages as non-localized -- the native variety of no specific area or class. Daniel Jones schematized this aspect of the standard by means of a cone model, as illustrated in Fig. 1 (following page).<sup>117</sup> The circular base represents the span of geographical varieties across France, with the apex as the standard. The vertical axis corresponds to the level of education and of social status, which rise as one approaches the apex. I must, however, stress the looseness of this correspondence. The standardized dialect is not necessarily 'native' to the highest social class (nor indeed to anyone else -- see Chapter Eight).<sup>118</sup>

The cone model is an effective way of depicting the standard's non-locality, a trait which, we have seen, results from two distinct factors: first, the tendency of synecdochic dialects to emerge from upper-class usage (since, as discussed in Chapter Three, there are logical reasons for greater dialectal unity at this social level);

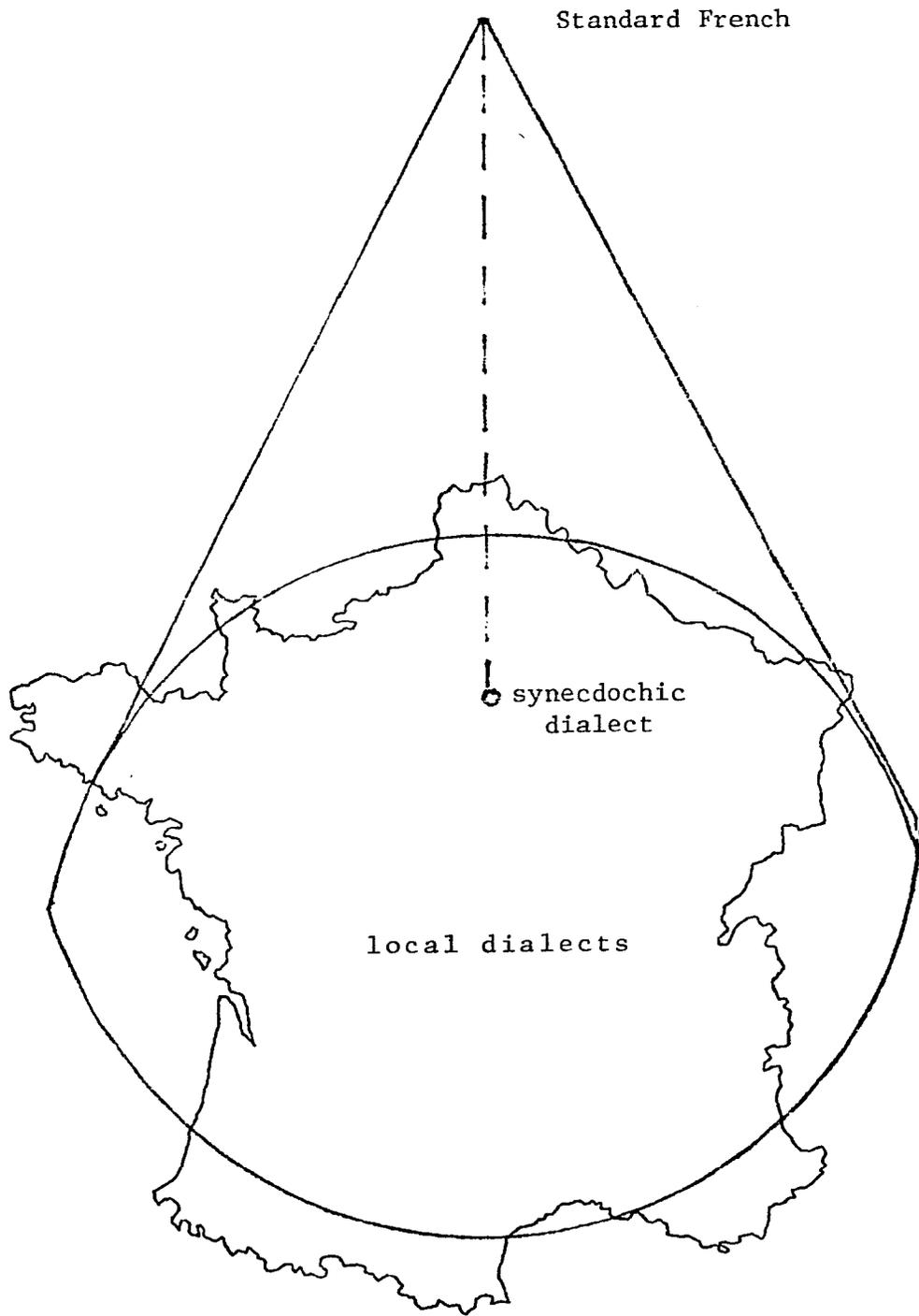


Fig. 1.

secondly, the usual repression of area- and class-associated elements in the course of the control process.

A final note: I have modified Jones' schema by displacing the apex of the cone away from the exact geographical center, toward the approximate original location of the synecdochic dialect -- for France, northward toward Paris (for Britain, it would be southward toward London). 'Polycentric' linguistic communities (8.2. below), such as anglophone North America or hispanophone South America, could be represented by multiple cones with interconnecting bases.

Notes to Chapter 7

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Anttila 1972: 181.

<sup>2</sup>Jones 1953: 283-284.

<sup>3</sup>By 'variants' I mean groups of elements that are in free variation. Of course, 'free variation' is itself a relative term, dependent upon the intricacy of the language's Weltanschauung and of the linguist's analysis.

<sup>4</sup>Weinreich 1954: 396.

<sup>5</sup>Fishman 1968c.

<sup>6</sup>Very frequently, alternate forms will have arisen among those who deal with the specific area in question before the problem reaches the controllers. The alternate forms must be attributed in part to the spirit of competition. If the second person to be involved with a new product or process adopts the first person's name for it or his way of talking about it, he risks appearing a mere imitator of his innovative rival. If he gives it a new name, one cannot a priori term this 'cosmetic elaboration', as long as the first suggestion has not yet been established in general usage; the two (of course, the number may be much greater) are rival candidates to supply the remedial elaboration, and indeed the second suggestion may well be the better. Control provides enormous efficiency benefits for those who deal with the two and with all their competitors, by establishing a single universally-understood terminology in lieu of an unlimited number of idiosyncratic ones.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. p. 52 above.

<sup>8</sup>In effect, most 'mere listings' indeed represent an ordering, if only by virtue of the order in which the author chooses to list the elements (unless he arranges them alphabetically). Readers, accustomed to hierarchized lists, will in any case construe the first-named item as 'preferred', even if the listing is alphabetical.

<sup>9</sup>On the role and attitude of the linguist in language control, see Jespersen 1925: 98-99; Bolinger 1975: 574.

<sup>10</sup>The first three, Norway's Rådet for teknisk terminologi (founded 1938), Denmark's Terminologicalcentralen (1941), and Sweden's Tekniska nomenklaturcentralen (1941), were specifically concerned with controlling newly elaborated terms in technological areas. In 1942, the Swedish-speaking population of Finland organized the Svenska Språkvårdsnämnden, the first board to concern itself with usage at all levels; soon similar bodies began to appear in the Scandinavian countries

proper: Sweden's Nämnden för svensk språkvård (1944), Norway's Norsk språknemnd (1951; renamed Norsk språkråd in 1971), Denmark's Dansk spognavn (1955), and Iceland's Íslensk málnefnd (1964). See Haugen 1976: 45.

<sup>11</sup> On the former, which came into existence on January 1, 1930, see Whiteley 1969: 79-96. On the latter, founded in 1955, see Kirk-Greene 1964; Paden 1968: 202.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted from Whiteley 1969: 82-83.

<sup>13</sup> See Robertson 1910.

<sup>14</sup> See Guitarte and Quintero 1967. The founding dates of the affiliates are: Colombia, 1871; Mexico, 1875; Ecuador, 1875 (reactivated c. 1923); El Salvador, c. 1880 (reactivated c. 1923); Venezuela, 1881 (reactivated c. 1930); Chile, 1886 (reactivated 1914); Peru, 1887 (reactivated c. 1930); Guatemala, 1888 (reactivated c. 1930); Bolivia, 1920; Costa Rica, 1923; Philippines, 1925; Cuba and Panama, 1926; Dominican Republic and Paraguay, 1927; Honduras, 1948; Puerto Rico, 1952. The Argentine Academy of Letters (1931) and the National Academy of Letters of Uruguay (1943) are independent bodies having 'collaborator' rather than 'associated' status with the Real Academia. The Argentine institution succeeded an associate academy which was founded in 1910 and disappeared without a trace shortly thereafter.

<sup>15</sup> See Zannoni 1845; Marconcini 1952.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted by Haugen 1976: 40.

<sup>17</sup> Entwistle 1962: 172.

<sup>18</sup> See Romera-Navarro 1929.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Pulgram 1958: 61-63; Migliorini 1960: 361.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. M. Cohen 1947: 187; Rickard 1974: 105-108. On Vaugelas' approach to control, see Ott 1962.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Blackall 1978: 102-148; Keller 1978: 494-497.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Triantaphyllidēs 1938; Browning 1969: 115-116.

<sup>23</sup> The references are to Fowler 1965; J. Murray et al. (eds.) 1933; Webster's etc. 1976; Follett 1966; Nicholson 1957; Evans and Evans 1957; Morris and Morris 1975; Newman 1974 and 1976.

<sup>24</sup> An interesting case study is Schütz 1972.

<sup>25</sup> Haugen (1976: 326) discusses the role played by clergy and merchants in the control of Danish.

<sup>26</sup> See, as an example, Kelsey and Dayton 1942.

<sup>27</sup>Cf. Weinreich 1953: 87-88. In some societies, it is the parents' responsibility; Groenke (1966: 220) explains the higher obedience to the rules of Standard Icelandic among the rural population than among the urban: '... on the lonely farm the speech habits of the children are controlled by the speech habits of the older people; in the city "the street" dominates: children learn from children; children find prestige persons among children. Such conditions are favorable to the normalization of deviations from the rule.'

<sup>28</sup>The university professor may find himself in a strangely schizophrenic position: in his capacity as a teacher, it is his duty to function as an implementor of control; yet as a researcher and writer, he is expected to contribute to the language's elaboration.

<sup>29</sup>In film and tape media, the title 'editor' denotes the chief splicer. Of course I refer not to him but to the person, whatever his title, who edits the text of what is to be recorded.

<sup>30</sup>The writer can never have the final say, even if he believes he does, so long as the direct line to the printing room is in the editor's office. Naturally, if the writer has sufficient standing and clout, nothing prevents the editor's 'final say' from being 'Print it as it stands'.

<sup>31</sup>Most writers temper their elaborative ability with a controlling instinct even as they compose. Those who lack this instinct may have difficulty getting their work accepted for publication (however good its content), and even if it is published, what reaches the printed page or the airwaves is likely to be as much an editor's revision as their own original creation. On the other hand, dull, dry writing may be largely the result of an overactive controlling instinct. The part of the writer's mind that controls is, in any case, not 'writer' proper but editor; the writer's function is assumed to be unrestricted, high-flying elaboration.

<sup>32</sup>Jespersen 1925: 90-93.

<sup>33</sup>Jespersen 1925: 95-122.

<sup>34</sup>Jespersen 1925: 100.

<sup>35</sup>Jespersen 1925: 103.

<sup>36</sup>Jespersen 1925: 106.

<sup>37</sup>Jespersen 1925: 109.

<sup>38</sup>Jespersen 1925: 113.

<sup>39</sup>He finally arrives at an explanation of the standard, which, though accurate on the surface, reveals an uncharacteristic flaw in logic:

Our definition of 'that which is linguistically correct' is

therefore 'that which is demanded by the particular linguistic community to which one belongs'. What is at variance with this is linguistically incorrect.

If this definition is kept in mind, practically everything is said that need be said. (Jespersen 1925: 122-123).

This is not an answer; it is a restatement of the original question. The seven standards were set up to specify what is demanded by the linguistic community. I believe Jespersen had answered the question remarkably well, but then refused to recognize that he had done so; and extracting the original question from his answer, he presented it in different wording as though it were in fact the answer.

<sup>40</sup>Ray 1963: 12.

<sup>41</sup>As generally employed, the term 'normal behavior' means either: a) acting in one's customary fashion (however idiosyncratic); b) acting as the majority of people do (however peculiarly); c) acting within the limits of acceptability established by some individual or group; or d) acting in direct obedience to a set of pre-established tenets. In this book, I shall consider only behavior types (a) and (b) as norm-governed, distinguishing them from (c) and (d), which may be termed rule-governed.

<sup>42</sup>Cf. Coppel 1975: 27; Rona 1973.

<sup>43</sup>Cf. Coseriu 1962: 96-98.

<sup>44</sup>Haugen 1962: 67.

<sup>45</sup>'Usage' may be defined and investigated in terms of: a) possibility of occurrence; b) frequency of occurrence; c) degree of intelligibility; d) acceptability; or e) any combination of these, as the analyst sees fit.

<sup>46</sup>Cf. Close's (1974: 18-19) description of Ienăchiță Văcărescu's efforts to standardize Rumanian: 'He was not concerned with altering the language, but only with describing it: thus he sought to standardize morphology and syntax by setting out for the first time the rules deducible from linguistic practice ...'. But whose linguistic practice, under what circumstances? By making a generalized description, Văcărescu could not help but 'alter' the language.

<sup>47</sup>In theory, the controller who employs his own intuition as the criterion for his decision is, in so doing, determining a certain class norm with himself as sole informant. As always, a larger sample would be more reliable.

<sup>48</sup>This particular logical circle is not the exclusive bugbear of standardization studies, however; it confounds every sociolinguist and dialectologist.

<sup>49</sup>But cf. 7.7. below.

<sup>50</sup>Migliorini 1966: 458.

<sup>51</sup>One classic example is the word picchiatello, coined to translate pixilated in the Italian dubbing of the movie Mr Deeds Goes to Town (1936), and quickly established in normal (and eventually standard) usage.

It is sometimes said that a single influential individual with constant television exposure, such as Walter Cronkite, can influence the norm in the direction of his own usage. I find this difficult to believe. Walter Cronkite does not determine the norm and rules; they 'determine' him. No one could rise to such a position in the communications media if his usage deviated more than slightly from the rules and the aristocratic norm. At best, Mr Cronkite could introduce perhaps one or two minor linguistic innovations -- most probably lexical. Were he to attempt more than that, he would be taken off the air with little delay.

<sup>52</sup>Cf. Danes 1969, on 'value-judgements' in language standardization.

<sup>53</sup>The focus here is on economy at the structural level. From a pragmatic point of view, strict adherence to the norm would seem to be the most economical means of communication.

<sup>54</sup>See Martinet 1970. Mere awkwardness of pronunciation or intricacy of composition have rarely been the controller's concern; elements that are truly troublesome are rooted out naturally from the norm. Sauvageot (1973: 469) advises controllers making a decision about a given element not to take into account the difficulty it might cause foreign learners.

<sup>55</sup>Fowler 1965: 263.

<sup>56</sup>With allophonic variant [q̥ɪdɪ], rhyming with bridal.

<sup>57</sup>In defense, he noted that [ɪdɪ] was by no means a marginal variant, since a fair number of people, both educated and uneducated (though in neither case the majority), used it regularly; and, as was his custom, he dismissed any charge of 'false quantity' that the purist (see below) might level.

<sup>58</sup>The logical criterion can be very deceptive, because logic as a system is, after all, derived from language (note even the word's etymon, λόγος). Much of what passes for linguistic 'logic' actually consists of Greek and Latin grammatical rules that served as reference points for the earliest logicians. Regarding pronoun case following a copular verb, Jespersen notes: 'There is nothing whatever in logic which obliges the predicative to stand in the same case as the subject, that is, in the nominative. On the contrary the predicative is different from the subject, and in many languages, Russian and Finnish for example, it stands (at any rate very commonly) in other cases such as the instrumental, the partitive, the essive or the translative.' (Jespersen 1925: 115). In French, the 'tonic' pronoun, also employed as

the object of prepositions, serves this function: c'est moi, c'est lui, never \*c'est je, \*c'est il. The 'logic' by which the strictest controllers would banish such normal syntagms as English if you were me, Danish det er mig, etc., is no logic at all, but a rule of Latin grammar: sum ego, si esses ego.

<sup>59</sup> See Grevisse 1975: 974-975.

<sup>60</sup> See Grevisse 1975: 1059.

<sup>61</sup> In fact, the realization of forte as /f<sup>1</sup>orte/ is doubtless due to widespread knowledge of the Italian term as a marking in music. The English word's French origin is quite secure; morale and locale are other examples in which English has borrowed the feminine form of the adjective corresponding to a French masculine noun and given it the noun's meaning.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Fowler 1965: 253-254.

<sup>63</sup> On the last, see Mirambel 1964.

<sup>64</sup> Formerly -- and still in archaizing usage -- a distinction was maintained between je voudrais qu'il vînt (implication: il ne vient pas) and je voudrais qu'il vienne (implication: il viendra peut-être). Cf. Grevisse 1975: 1219.

<sup>65</sup> 'Ce conditionnel est fréquent en Bourgogne, en Touraine, en Anjou, en Poitou, au Canada, et ailleurs; il s'entend couramment dans le peuple à Paris. En Belgique, il est largement répandu dans l'usage populaire.' (Grevisse 1975: 1219).

<sup>66</sup> To distinguish whether a given control decision has been made on the basis of purism or the literary norm, one must consider the controller's attitude. If he cites an author in order to show that element x occurs and is probably normal in 'good usage', he is using the literary norm. If he cites an author to show that element x should be used (and from his exhortation one may surmise that x is not used, hence is non-normal), he is engaging in purism.

<sup>67</sup> As I discussed in Chapter Six, if enough elements of deviant morphology are borrowed by a variety, and the source language's rules are adhered to, an elaboration of the borrowing variety may occur. But -a cannot currently be regarded as an English plural morpheme. The norm is quite clearly this data has, that agenda is, and the motives of those who insist on these data have, those agenda are, can certainly be labelled puristic, perhaps even didactic.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Hayakawa 1972: 62-72.

<sup>69</sup> Fowler 1965: 432. Cf. Chao 1968: v, on Whatmough's objections to phoneme and phonemic.

<sup>70</sup> A perfectly 'innocent' element may fall into disfavor on

account of homophony or near-homophony with a taboo; but this factor usually affects the norm directly, rather than being the controller's concern. Japanese shi 'four' is hierarchically lower than the etymologically remote variant yon for no other reason than its homophony with shi 'death', a word charged with taboo connotations. Cf. Anttila 1972: 182, on the fate of English cock and ass in the sense of 'rooster' and 'donkey'.

<sup>71</sup>Cf. Browning 1969: 104-105.

<sup>72</sup>The use of on plus verb in the third person singular (e.g., on pense, literally, 'one thinks' or 'it is thought') to express the first person plural (thus replacing nous pensons 'we think', which has become progressively rarer in most dialects) has long been standard in French. Subsequently, many dialects have preposed the subject pronoun nous to on pense, forming a single cursus /nuzõpäs/. This form is especially frequent in cases where the speaker wishes to make the identity of the subject explicit.

<sup>73</sup>Cf. Pulgram 1975: 288. 'Progress' here is restricted to the sense of 'continuous evolution', without the connotation of 'continuous improvement' that the word often acquires. From the point of view of efficiency, control may indeed contribute to the language's 'progress' toward its goal of facilitating communication.

<sup>74</sup>This idea is expressed by Havránek (1938: 153): 'Doch weiss man aus der Sprachgeschichte mit aller Deutlichkeit, dass die schriftsprachliche Norm sich in der Zeit ändert, dass sie der Entwicklung unterworfen ist. Es gibt keine erstarrte Sprachnorm, solange noch eine Schriftsprache lebendig ist; aber jede schriftsprachliche Norm hat ihre eigene Entwicklung, die niemals der Entwicklung einer Mundart gleicht.' Schriftsprache corresponds to 'standard language'; schriftsprachliche Norm is closer to my concept of 'rule' than to 'norm' (as discussed in note 75 below).

<sup>75</sup>Havránek 1938: 152: 'Die Sprachnorm der Schriftsprache unterscheidet sich von der Sprachnorm im allgemeinen nicht der Art, sondern dem Grad nach, nicht qualitativ, sondern quantitativ. Die schriftsprachliche Norm unterscheidet sich von der der Volkssprache erstens in gleicher Weise wie die Schriftsprache selbst von der Volkssprache: d.h. durch eine viel grössere funktionelle und stilistische Differenzierung (Schichtung); zweitens durch ein erhöhtes Normbewusstsein und eine gesteigerte Verbindlichkeit, die mit einer nachdrücklichen Forderung nach Stabilität (Stabilitätstendenz) verbunden ist.' I interpret schriftsprachliche Norm as 'rule', Sprachnorm im allgemeinen as 'norm', based on Havránek's use of the terms here and elsewhere.

<sup>76</sup>Bloomfield (1927) theorizes that these beliefs result from the transfer to speech of attitudes about writing, where there is a single fixed norm that must be learned (see 5.7. above).

<sup>77</sup>Cf. Meillet 1965: 121.

<sup>78</sup>Garvin and Mathiot 1956: 786.

<sup>79</sup>It was feared that Galileo's espousal of the Copernican universe would lead to atheism and anarchy. The modern linguist is similarly accused of wishing to foster linguistic anarchy -- cf. the controversy over Webster's Third International Dictionary. But it is necessary in every case to heed the words of Pascal (*Pensees*, 326): 'Il est dangereux de dire au peuple que les lois ne sont pas justes, car il n'y obéit qu'à cause qu'il les croit justes. C'est pourquoi il lui faut dire en même temps qu'il y faut obéir parce qu'elles sont lois, comme il faut obéir aux supérieurs, non pas parce qu'ils sont justes, mais parce qu'ils sont supérieurs.'

<sup>80</sup>Pulgram 1976: 28. Cf. also Pulgram 1952.

<sup>81</sup>Ray 1963: 14.

<sup>82</sup>[?] transcribes any of a number of possible intonation patterns, the most common variant being

[axiugoxɪt'uδəpɑdi]

<sup>83</sup>The use of the term 'slang' by linguists is discussed in Dumas and Lighter 1978.

<sup>84</sup>In fact, any type of non-standard element may be employed for literary reasons in the modernist context; cf. Levin 1964; Cureton 1979.

<sup>85</sup>Cf. note 76 above.

<sup>86</sup>See Ogden 1934; Richards 1943.

<sup>87</sup>The 'naturalness' of expansive linguistic structure is a moot point, but its empirical confirmation or denial may not be far distant, if studies into universal features of the creolization process continue at their present rate of progress. In any case, Hall (1972: 144) certainly errs when he writes: 'A standard behaviour-pattern -- whether linguistic or non-linguistic -- is usually regarded as necessarily unitary, admitting of relatively little deviation.'

<sup>88</sup>Cf. Garvin and Mathiot 1956: 783.

<sup>89</sup>Kratochvíl 1968: 20.

<sup>90</sup>Kratochvíl 1968: 19.

<sup>91</sup>Haugen 1966b: 930.

<sup>92</sup>Grevisse 1975: 233-241.

<sup>93</sup>According to Grevisse (1975: 235), 'On leur donne l'un ou l'autre genre selon qu'on a dans la pensée soit l'idée de "temps" [M],

soit celle de "période" ou d'"époque" [F].

<sup>94</sup>Listed as M~F in the 1877 edition of the Académie's dictionary.

<sup>95</sup>Abbreviation of chromolithographie (F).

<sup>96</sup>From Spanish.

<sup>97</sup>Neologism created in 1877 by the German physiologist Wilhelm Kuhne, from Greek ἐν 'in' + ζύμη 'leaven'. The word entered French forty or fifty years later, probably transmitted through English.

<sup>98</sup>Abbreviation of habitation (F) à loyer modéré.

<sup>99</sup>From English.

<sup>100</sup>The tree, rather than the fruit.

<sup>101</sup>From Dutch.

<sup>102</sup>From Greek.

<sup>103</sup>From Russian.

<sup>104</sup>From a masculine Greek adjective.

<sup>105</sup>Cf. Keller 1978: 508. The opposite condition, in which the rules are extremely rigid, is likely to be lamented by the native, who may feel constrained by them and may want access to more of his language's abundant riches; but not by the foreign learner, for whom the reduced, simplified structure should be easier to master.

<sup>106</sup>See further Jespersen 1925: 79-80; Lundell 1938.

<sup>107</sup>Whiteley 1969: 107.

<sup>108</sup>Das Gupta and Gumperz 1968: 153-154.

<sup>109</sup>Das Gupta and Gumperz do not make the distinction that I observe between control and codification.

<sup>110</sup>'Literary language' is the specialized set of norms and rules of a profession built on a quintessential standard language function.

<sup>111</sup>Sauvageot 1973: 397.

<sup>112</sup>Cf. André Gide's suggestion of a means to 'save' the French imperfect subjunctive by reserving a single, tiny corner of the syntax for it (quoted by Grevisse 1975: 1222-1223).

<sup>113</sup>See Malone 1958.

<sup>114</sup>Perhaps more logical would have been to borrow the Scottish and

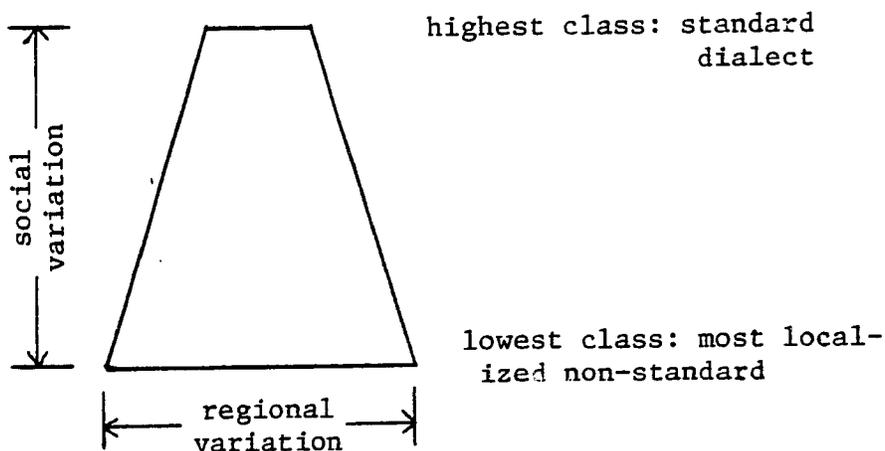
Irish amn't I -- rejected, of course, for its geographical associations (see below).

<sup>115</sup>Cf. Rohlfs 1969: 45: 'In opposizione al passato prossimo, il passato remoto indica un'azione che si riferisce a un passato più lontano, e che in ogni modo non giunge sino al presente (o non è in rapporto col presente), cfr. ieri visitammo il museo, oggi siamo andati al castello.'

<sup>116</sup>Rohlfs (1969: 46) notes that in some areas of the south, the passato remoto is used even in sentences with clear present time connection. He attributes this to the influence of the Greek substratum, which, he claims, made use of only one perfective tense -- the aorist -- as do Modern Demotic Greek and the surviving Greek dialects of southern Italy.

<sup>117</sup>Cf. Galli de' Paratesi 1977: 169.

<sup>118</sup>On this basis I would suggest a modification in the labelling of Trudgill's similar diagram, which appears as follows in Trudgill 1974: 41:



Such absolute statements concerning the usage of the 'highest' and 'lowest' classes (if indeed these could be determined in a society without rigid castes) simply lack empirical justification. Substituting the comparative degree higher and lower class, however, we arrive at a reasonable picture of the general trend.

## CHAPTER EIGHT: CHANGES IN STATUS

### 8.1. Absolute and relative standards

The dialect that becomes synecdochic has already undergone a tremendous change in status. But the new functions and structural alterations made possible by this initial change lead to a second series of increases in prestige. In the end, speakers throughout the area over which the dialect is synecdochic come to believe that the standard is the 'original', 'good', and 'right' form of their language, of which they themselves speak a corrupted version, and their children speak a travesty.

Among these beliefs are the attitudes transferred to speech from written language, discussed in 5.7. above. Standardization of spelling need not take place until many years after writing of a language has begun, but once underway it can become established quite rapidly. The popularity and availability of dictionaries aid greatly in this process.

The absolute orthographic authority thus created in the community's collective consciousness may then undergo a sort of synecdoche, and evolve into an absolute linguistic authority. As a result, the standard language is ruled over by an ideal:

Chiameremo ... 'italiano normativo' ... quello che è considerato il migliore italiano, che in larga parte coincide col fiorentino, soprattutto delle classi colte, ma non completamente ( ... ). Tale lingua non è parlata, così com'è descritta dai manuali normativi, in nessuna regione d'Italia, in nessuna classe sociale. È una norma, una lingua ideale.<sup>1</sup>

Mais si l'on cherche la réalisation parfaite de la langue, on ne

la trouve nulle part. Il y a beaucoup d'hommes qui parlent français; il n'y a personne qui parle le français et qui puisse servir de règle et d'exemple aux autres. Ce que nous appelons le français n'existe dans le langage parlé d'aucun être humain. Aussi est-il oiseux de demander où se parle le meilleur français. Le meilleur français est une 'idée' ... à la merci d'une défaillance de mémoire, d'un cuir ou d'un lapsus. C'est un idéal qui se cherche, mais qui ne se trouve pas; c'est une force en action qu'on peut seulement définir par le but où elle tend; c'est une réalité en puissance qui n'aboutit pas à l'acte; c'est un devenir qui n'arrive jamais.<sup>2</sup>

At this stage, linguistic attitudes are threatening to converge with religious attitudes. The description of Standard French above might have been lifted from a theological tract on the nature of divinity. In some cultures, the convergence is carried through to fulfillment: the standard language undergoes apotheosis. Sanskrit was glorified in this way. Deification was at first restricted to the language of the sacred Vedic texts,<sup>3</sup> but later extended to non-Vedic Sanskrit, in order to strengthen its sociolinguistic position against the incringing Prakrits.<sup>4</sup>

An absolute standard with no palpable existence may inspire awe, but provides little guidance toward prestige usage. The chasm between the human and the divine is bridged by extending the absolute to the terrestrial authority of some person or persons whose linguistic usage and judgment are considered as close to the ideal as is realistically possible. Just as sacredness was extended from Vedic to non-Vedic Sanskrit; or as the Christian Church narrowed the gulf between God and man by establishing the Trinity, and by extending certain prerogatives of godhead to select individuals; so the linguistic community, without forsaking its absolute standard, creates or recognizes a series of relative standards, which serve the all-important function of being humanly attainable.

To account for the simultaneous unity and diversity of Spanish in Europe and America, Rona distinguishes a norma asintótica, defined as

una norma de corrección, esto es, un precepto que habría que observar para que nuestro lenguaje pudiera ser considerado como 'el' español. Desde este punto de vista, naturalmente, no existiría más que un 'español', con reglas y leyes universalmente vigentes, con un vocabulario estrictamente definido y delimitado, y que, por supuesto, no se puede hablar.<sup>5</sup>

-- from a norma sociolingüística:

La norma sociolingüística es una unidad estrictamente diastrática que surge de la comparación de dos o más niveles sociolingüísticos de la misma localidad. No es una unidad geográfica, aunque ... puede prestarse al trazado de isoglosas dialectales. La norma sociolingüística es una unidad asociada a cada elemento del lenguaje, no al lenguaje en su conjunto. En esto se distingue ... del ideal de lengua.<sup>6</sup>

This is equivalent to the distinction between absolute (asintótica) and relative (sociolingüística) standards made here. The difference is manifested in the following two sentences:

- a) Georges speaks Standard French.
- b) Standard French is spoken by no one.

Both sentences are grammatical; both statements are true. They are not contradictory, because 'Standard French' does not mean the same thing in (a) as in (b). In (a), 'Standard' connotes the relative sense; in (b), the absolute. It is significant that the active/passive distinction is constrained somewhat by the semantics (or vice versa):

- a') ?Standard French is spoken by Georges.

is of questionable grammaticality because of interference from the absolute meaning;

- b') No one speaks Standard French.

is grammatical, but anyone hearing the statement would label it untrue, because of the strong relative overtones.

What is the nature of the absolute standard? Is it a mere figment of the imagination, or has it some sort of independent existence? The possible philosophical positions are three in number:

a) Realism (also called logicism) holds that abstract entities exist independently of the mind, which does not create, but only discovers them.

b) Conceptualism (also called intuitionism) holds that abstract entities do not exist prior to their creation by the mind; but that once the mind has fashioned them, they do have real existence.

c) Nominalism (also called formalism) 'denies both that abstract entities pre-exist their "creation" by the mind and that once "created" they thereby come into existence, even in the mind.'<sup>7</sup>

The reader may adapt the platform of his choice. It matters little for the standardization process and its outcome, since in any case the only tangible manifestation of the absolute standard's existence lies in its extension to human authorities within the relative sphere.

The relative standard is subject to change according to the exigencies of context and situation. The absolute standard is not. If a man is standing alone in a remote forest, with no other person within earshot, and says to himself, 'I ain't saw nothin', he has breached the absolute standard of English. But no application of relative standards is possible unless the speaker, in his role as listener to himself, is aware of the status of the sentence he has uttered. With no one there to hear, in other words, the falling tree makes no noise.

The coexistence of absolute and relative standard is characteristic of every standard language. The recognition of an absolute standard may perhaps be regarded as the crowning achievement of the stand-

ardization process. It adds considerable complication to the 'diglossic' situations I have been discussing in somewhat simplified terms. But the existence of multiple levels of 'rightness' clarifies the difficult problems of how a given linguistic element could be simultaneously 'right' and 'wrong', how certain elements can be always 'wrong' (if 'wrong' at the absolute level), but none always 'right' (for some time, somewhere, a circumstance will dictate against it).

## 8.2. The new diglossia

I have traced the course of a language's standardization from the individual speech act to the development of an absolute standard. The story certainly does not end here. The standard language has just reached maturity; its days of international esteem and literary glory are only beginning. Furthermore, the community faces the endless task of extending knowledge of the standard to all social and regional strata of the population. This ideal can never be fully attained. The population could never be mobilized for a sufficient period of time nor made to work hard enough to achieve a thorough indoctrination. In addition, new children are born into the community every day, and raising them to function at the general level of linguistic performance takes priority over the effort to raise the general level itself. The community is lucky to keep up, let alone to advance.

Even were extensive 'democratization' of the standard language feasible, it is most unlikely that social class distinctions would disappear from linguistic usage. The aristocracy responds to the influx of *novi homines* by creating a new superstandard norm.<sup>8</sup> Alexandre suggests that 'there may be some kind of optimal *élite/mass* ratio'

toward which acculturation aims;<sup>9</sup> should the ratio become too large, something will have to give.

So the diglossic situation, which provides both impetus and model for language standardization, is never eradicated. The acculturated vernacular may assume all the functions and prestige of the former 'high' language, and thereby oust it from use; but in so doing, the newly standardized synecdochic dialect itself becomes 'high', in diglossia with the other, non-synecdochic dialects grouped within the same language. The diglossia is 'nativized', but the community's sociolinguistic structure has changed very little.

Fig. 1 (p. 224) depicts the emergence of Standard French in terms of a dynamic diglossia. The horizontal axis is the progress of time; the vertical represents two interdependent indices, prestige of the languages themselves and prestige of the functions in which they serve (with the requisite changes in form implied as well).

Fig. 2 (p. 225) portrays the emergence of Standard Rumanian, which occurred within a more compressed time span. The sharp rise in standardization activity prior to 1850 was sparked by the attainment of political independence in 1821.

Finally, Fig. 3 (p. 226) indicates the linguistic situation in Quebec.<sup>10</sup> While the status of English as a 'high' language has now declined, its influence continues to be felt at the dialect level. One goal of the standardization process is to eliminate such influence. The future course of the Quebec situation may appear predictable, based on the preceding examples; but in reality it will depend on a great many political, cultural, and socio-economic factors that no one can foresee.

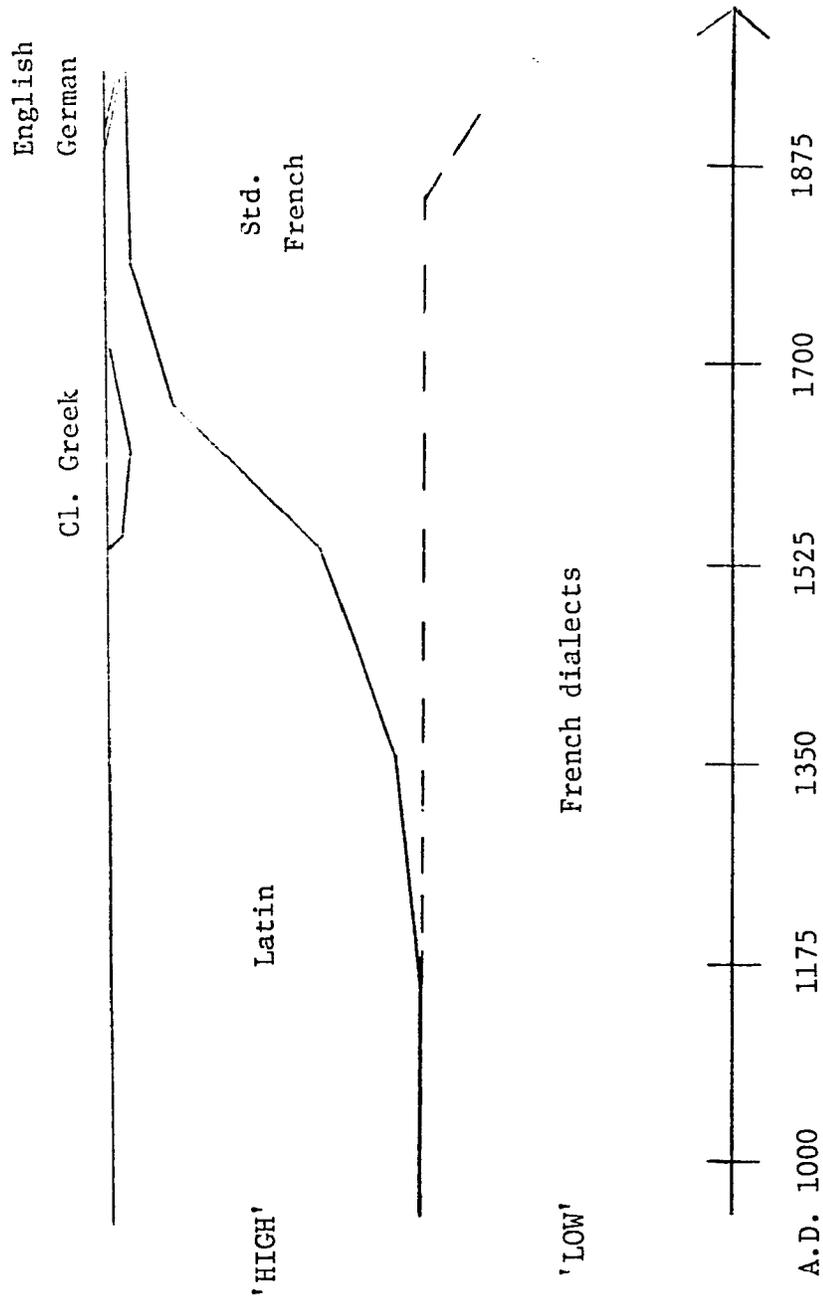


Fig. 1.

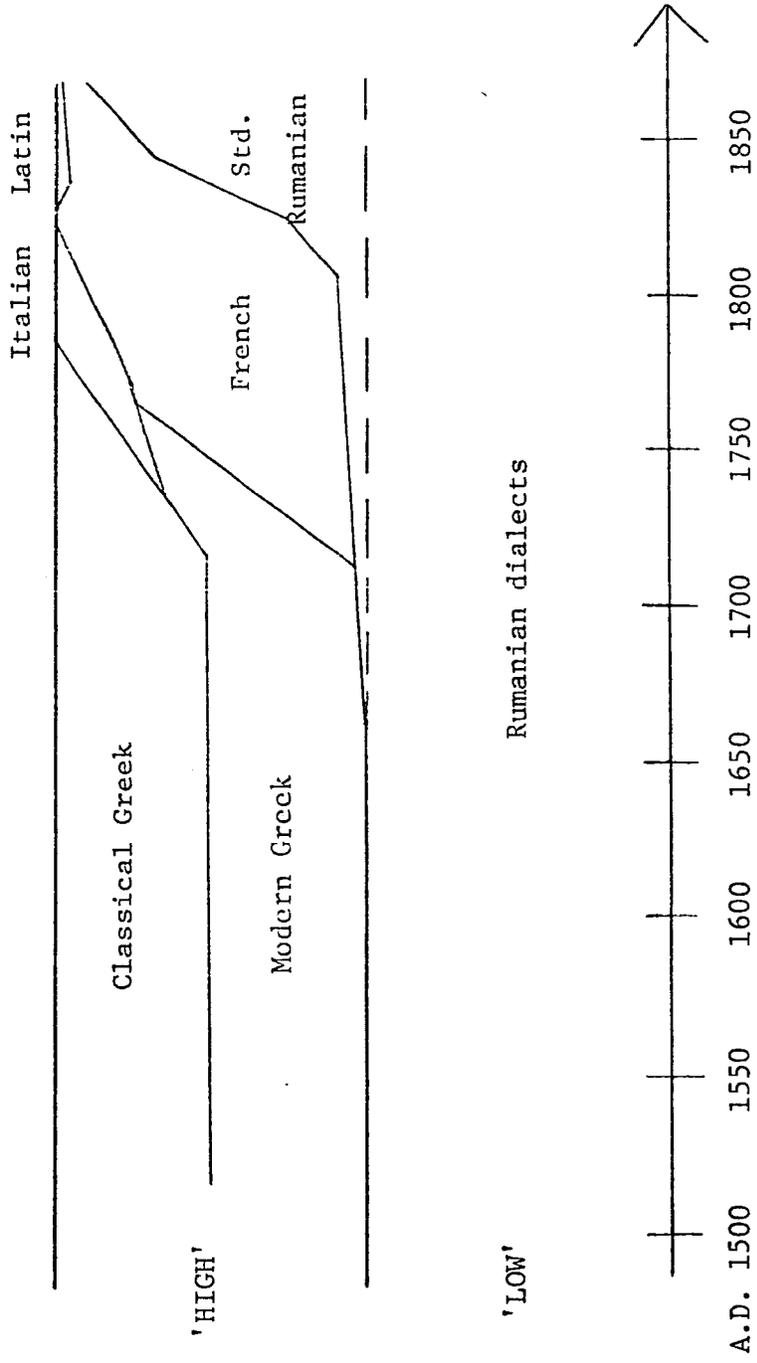


Fig. 2.

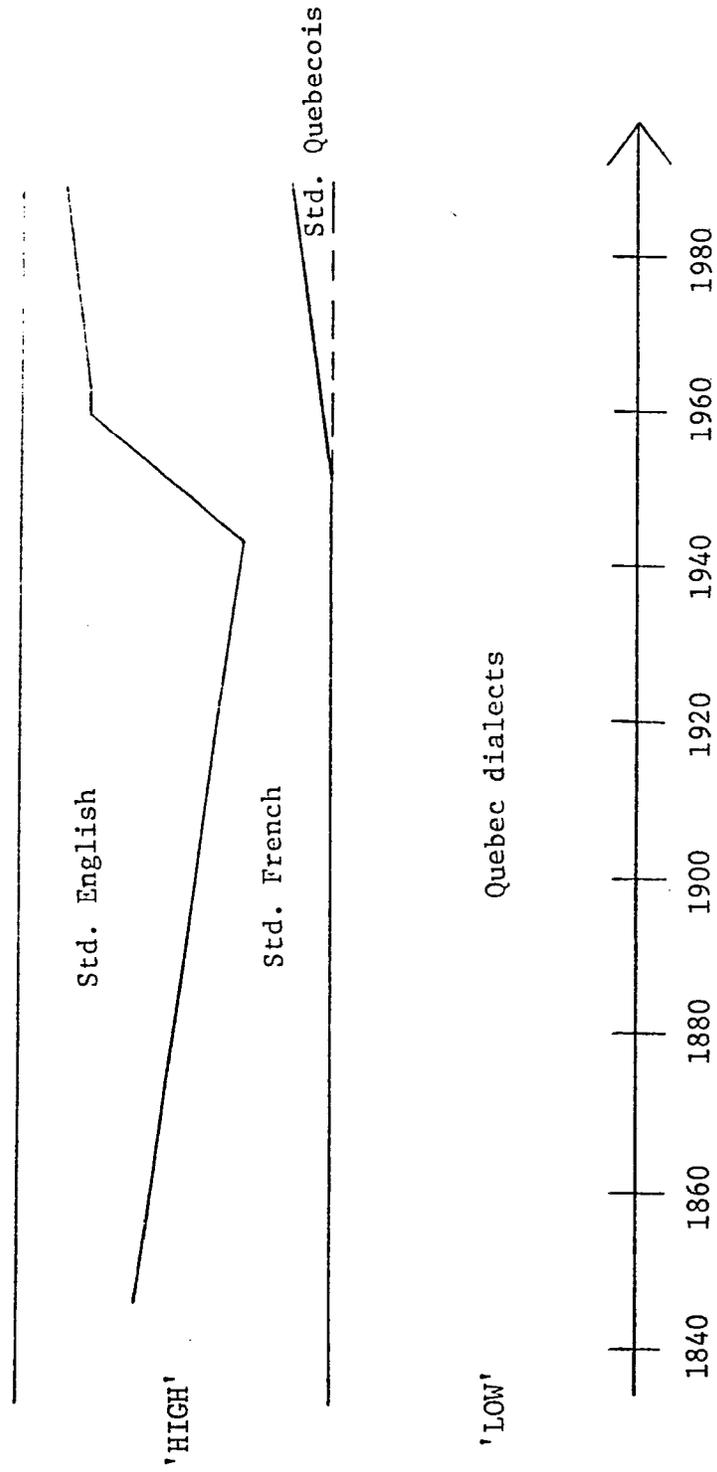


Fig. 3.

The emergence of a Standard Quebecois as a distinct language with its own norms and rules is certainly a possibility. A synecdochic dialect would be established, and would undergo the sort of changes described in this book. Unless a rural dialect were chosen, it is probable that insufficient Abstand from Standard French would provide an obstacle to be overcome. Yet with the backing of strong enough nationalistic sentiment, and with the ideologization of such distinctions as do exist, an 'ausbau-only' language like Slovak or Macedonian (see Chapter Four) could result.

Alternatively, the autonomous norms and rules of Quebecois could be recognized, but without the status of an individual language being granted. Were this to occur, French would become a polycentric standard language like English (with separate American, Australian, British, Canadian, Irish, New Zealander, Scottish, and perhaps Indian norms), Portuguese (Continental and South American), and Spanish (with one Continental and several New World norms).<sup>11</sup> As of now, French, like Italian, is rigidly monocentric.<sup>12</sup>

The third possibility, of course, is that the standardization of Quebecois will prove abortive, and will never really get off the ground at all. Yet if, in time, the dialects of Quebec continue to differentiate from European French, and if the people of Quebec develop a loyalty to their province that precludes integration into a world francophone community, then either a Standard Quebecois or a polycentric French would seem the inevitable outcome.

Some twenty years ago, Ferguson ventured a 'tentative prognosis' for the course of four diglossic situations up to about A.D. 2150.<sup>13</sup> He predicted that Demotic Greek, Haitian Creole, and various regional

dialects of Arabic would all standardize into independent languages, with Greek achieving that status fully and securely and the others developing slowly. He did not take into account the possibility of polycentralization; this certainly seems a viable route in the case of Arabic. As for the diglossia between Standard and Swiss German in Switzerland, Ferguson predicted that it would remain relatively stable during the next two centuries.

The dialect that attains standard language status receives no guarantee of keeping it. If the community changes its unit of loyalty or succumbs to foreign cultural domination, its standard language may become, in Kloss' terminology, scheindialektisierte --<sup>14</sup> in English, near-dialectalized.<sup>15</sup>

The term is an unfortunate choice, since for the linguist every 'language' is also a 'dialect'. By 'near-dialectalized', Kloss means that the ex-standard forfeits nearly all of its claim to 'language' status. This was the fate of Scots Gaelic with its speakers' acceptance of English, Low Saxon with German, Occitan with French, Sard with Italian, Kashubian with Polish.

Except for a small minority among the elite -- a minority more active and alert among the Occitans than among the ... other groups -- the speakers of these languages are willing to put up with their present status. They feel and think and speak about these languages in terms of dialects of the victorious tongues rather than in terms of autonomous systems.<sup>16</sup>

Should these speakers decide to resuscitate the course of their language's standardization, they will have an easier time of it than a community starting afresh. The 'near-dialectalized' language has a literary tradition to fall back on; much of the work of standardization will already have been done, and will be preserved there.

One other potential fate looms for the standard language. I have already discussed how codification, writing, and certain aspects of the control process contribute to fixing the acculturated 'high' dialect in such a way that its development does not keep pace with that of other dialects within the language.<sup>17</sup> With each passing year, the dialect thus maintained 'pure' becomes more and more artificial, more removed from actual speech. If the codifiers and controllers are absolutely adamant that it must not change in any way (perhaps for religious reasons, as with the language of holy scripture), then in time the linguistic community for which it was originally synecdochic will evolve right out from under it. If the dialect is still maintained intact for particular functions, then its role is that of a classical language.<sup>18</sup>

The only method of examining a standard language that produces an accurate, realistic picture, is to treat it as a dynamic system, a diglossia that is constantly changing, always in motion. Synchronic description, after all, is an illusion. Nothing linguistic is static.

### 8.3. Analogies and digressions

Photographs. Jespersen's concept of the standard language differed little from Dante's -- both saw it as the non-local, common core koine. We have examined aspects of the standardization process that gave rise to this exaggerated view. Jespersen conjured up an unforgettable visual analogy for his idea of the standard:

If the views here presented are accepted, the Standard Language may be compared with the composite photographs which Galton was the first to think of and to apply to a scientific purpose. If you photograph a number of people (of the same or similar race) one over another on the same plate, you get a picture in which all

small divergences from the normal vanish, and the type is shown in its purity. Portraits thus produced are strikingly handsome. In the same way language perfectly purged of dialect becomes a sort of ideal language, to which real language can only approximate.<sup>19</sup>

Much of this analogy remains valid: both the Galton photograph and the standard language represent something humanly created, of a far more 'ideal' appearance than anything occurring in nature.

Today, we might wish to add some refinements to the metaphor. The photographic plate does not start out blank, but with the image of one particular member of the race already fully exposed. Other images are then exposed onto the first. Not only are members of the same race included, but also foreigners -- most likely the countrymen of the person who is operating the camera. One final stipulation: along with the living persons, the superimposed images should include one good Greco-Roman bust.

In a 1979 interview with the Detroit News, pianist Ruth Laredo made the following comment when questioned about her early years:

'The very early days I don't remember,' she says. 'I've seen pictures of myself so many times that I am not sure which memories are from the pictures and which are real.'<sup>20</sup>

This statement contains a caveat for the historical linguist working with a standard language (even one that is 'near-dialectalized'). If the standard has a long tradition of writing, then the linguist must not employ it for historical research until he has determined 'which memories are from the pictures' -- that is, which have been retained because they are recorded in the written tradition -- and 'which are real' -- that is, which have been retained in the standard because they have remained normal.

If this determination cannot be made, then the standard dialect

should be considered invalid for historical research, and only non-standard dialects employed. By the same token: since the standardization process occurs in somewhat different fashion with every language, one should be highly wary of using a standard dialect for any comparative purpose, such as the search for linguistic universals.<sup>21</sup>

Mountains. 'If I may suggest a metaphor:

the national language is a socially stratified peak rising from a broad plain of rural vernaculars crisscrossed by isoglosses. The peak loses itself in the clouds of 'correctness', but its sides are adorned by the cold aloofness of the 'best society' of Copenhagen and Stockholm, tempered by 'provincial' standards a cut below those of the capitals. The Middle Class is struggling to climb the magic mountain, while Labor is contentedly and comfortably talking its substandard and virtually subterranean 'cockney-like' urban vernacular.<sup>22</sup>

Haugen's analogy is reminiscent of Daniel Jones' 'cone model', discussed and illustrated in Chapter Seven.

The mountain strikes me as a nearly ideal image. But Haugen's metaphor lacks a crucial element: the conscious human effort that goes into shaping the standard dialect. The ultimate analogy with which I will close this book, therefore, employs a mountain uniquely suited to the task.

In the Black Hills of southwestern South Dakota, Mount Rushmore towers over the surrounding woodland. It was always an impressive enough mountain, as mountains go; but until some fifty years ago, few people ever went out of their way to look at it. Among those who did was a sculptor named Gutzon Borglum.

He and his associates subjected the mountain to thorough scrutiny, both on the surface and beneath. Their task was to select the sites best suited to be the locations for the sculpted heads of four American

presidents. When the crags and juttings left by Nature on the mountain's face had been examined, four spots emerged as loci. From the moment of their emergence and selection over rival candidates, they underwent a change in status. They were no longer mere mountain juttings, but busts-elect. This was, as well, a change in function. The importance of the rest of the mountain diminished by comparison.

In order to fulfill their ultimate function as monuments, the sites had to endure a change in form. The sculptor and his associates did not simply start drilling and hacking away as they desired. They imported two essential elements into the process: first, of course, a pre-formed image of how the finished work should appear; and secondly, a 2000-year-old tradition of portrait sculpture that began with the Greeks and was modified by the Romans.

Work progressed slowly. Plans were continually conditioned by the evolving structure of the sites themselves. A feature might be altered to remedy some undesirable gap in the stone. Certain details -- such as the optical illusion suggesting Theodore Roosevelt's eyeglasses -- contributed less to the functional capability than to mere cosmetic appearance.

In time, the mountain's crags were brought under control, so that the whole work corresponded (at least in basic delineation) to the pre-ordained plan. Now the full measure of function and status change was attained. People came by the millions, from all over the world, to view the four great busts -- people who would never have come to wonder at the mountain's natural majesty.

I trust that the reader grasps the parallel. Cannot the uncarved Mount Rushmore be likened, for example, to the Romance diasystem, as it

was before standardization began in the Renaissance? The sites that emerged as loci for 'sculpting' might be identified as Castille, the Ile de France, Florence, and Bucharest (to select four). Originally just another part of the mountain, they are now what almost everyone comes to see. Only the professional geologist is interested in the rest.

It seems to me that linguists have long treated these sculpted heads -- Standard Spanish, French, Italian, and Rumanian -- as though they were natural rock formations. They were formed no more naturally than the busts of Washington, Jefferson, Roosevelt, and Lincoln. These are the fitting domain not of the geologist, but of the art historian. The geologist can make no accurate statement concerning the sculptures until he has distinguished what is natural in them from what is artificial. But he may be called in to examine their present state, and to determine where reinforcement may be necessary to prevent deterioration.

The linguist qua geologist should also bear in mind that the mountain as a whole is not what it was in 1900. Besides natural evolutionary processes (erosion, and so forth), the very presence of the monuments changes the mountain's entire structural make-up and relationship with the surrounding environment.

I did not know until recently that Mount Rushmore is an unfinished work. Borglum's original models have the entire face of the mountain sculpted as presidential torsos. But any such extension proved far beyond feasibility. The sculptor's son had to battle furiously for state assistance merely in getting the heads to a respectable state of completion.

Lincoln Borglum still hopes to see the Mount Rushmore project carried through in its entirety. Educators often express the desire to see knowledge and use of the standard dialect extended to every citizen, in every area and at every social stratum. We live in an age of technological wonders; yet nothing indicates that either wish is ever to be fulfilled.

Notes to Chapter 8

<sup>1</sup>Galli de' Paratesi 1977: 169. Emphasis added.

<sup>2</sup>Vendryes 1921: 285. Emphasis added.

<sup>3</sup>See Deshpande 1979: 1-2, 7-8.

<sup>4</sup>Deshpande 1979: 106, n. 14.

<sup>5</sup>Rona 1973: 311.

<sup>6</sup>Rona 1973: 312-313. Rona includes a third level, norma de Coseriu, which is 'un nivel del lenguaje en el que las variantes del sistema son invariantes.' This is by no means a 'norma' in the same sense as the other two, and its inclusion here only confuses matters. It was to avoid such irrelevance and needless complication that I declined to treat Coseriu's theory in an earlier chapter.

Were he adhering strictly to the borrowed schema, Rona would need to include two 'normas de Coseriu', since Coseriu (1962: 96-98) distinguishes norma individual from norma social.

<sup>7</sup>Bell 1976: 44.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Brakel 1978.

<sup>9</sup>Alexandre 1968: 122.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Corbeil 1979; Gagné 1979.

<sup>11</sup>To be precise, Portuguese is bicentric, as French would be if the only two norms recognized were the Parisian and the Quebecois. Cf. Kloss 1978: 66.

<sup>12</sup>See Joseph 1980: 136; Stewart 1968: 534.

<sup>13</sup>Ferguson 1959: 340.

<sup>14</sup>Kloss 1978: 67-70.

<sup>15</sup>Kloss 1967: 35-36.

<sup>16</sup>Kloss 1967: 36.

<sup>17</sup>Not that the standard is differentiated exclusively by conservatism; elaborative innovations remove it still further from other dialects. Cf. Havránek 1929: 107.

<sup>18</sup>Kloss (1968: 84) claims that 'Archaic standard languages are restricted almost exclusively to Asia.' This statement is surprising, since the examples that come most readily to mind are Latin and Greek, which are not Asian, and Arabic, which can be under a broad definition. But this is the result of cultural-centricity. 'Almost exclusively' is an exaggeration; yet it is indeed only in Asia that the classical language is still a regular, integral part of the linguistic spectrum.

<sup>19</sup>Jespersen 1925: 76.

<sup>20</sup>'Ruth Laredo: The baby pianist comes home, and it's "not bad, Ruthie,"' by Barbara Hoover. The Detroit News, Sunday, September 23, 1979, p. 1-G.

<sup>21</sup>This is a criticism of studies such as Greenberg 1966, in which, for instance, the only Romance representative in the sample is not a 'natural' dialect, but Standard Italian.

<sup>22</sup>Haugen 1968: 276-277.

CHAPTER NINE: STANDARDIZATION AND RESTANDARDIZATION IN  
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

9.1. From francien to françois

A language already describable as 'standardized' can enter into a period of new rule-making activity so intense as to merit the label restandardization. One may even consider the end product a separate language -- or, as in the case of 'Old' versus 'Middle' French, partially separate.

The possible motivations behind restandardization are many; generally involved is the language's failure to maintain a steady mode of adjustment to factors such as the following:

1. Redefinition of the speech community and of its unit of loyalty.
2. Change in the language's prestige to outsiders
3. Change in speakers' attitudes towards the language within the community
4. Sentiment of 'ineloquence'; call for remedial elaboration
5. Clearer emergence of synecdochic dialect
6. Emergence of rival synecdochic dialect(s)
7. Change in choice of norm as basis of standard usage
8. Change in degree of abstand
9. Change in diglossic situation -- new high language(s), etc.
10. Commencement of transference of elements from high language
11. Growth or diminution of cultural avant-garde
12. Increase or decrease in influence and intensity of avant-garde's activities
13. Change in general functional range
14. Appearance of second-language grammar
15. Appearance of native grammar
16. Change of writing system
17. Change from primarily spoken to primarily written channel, or

vice versa, for the standard dialect

18. Change in community literacy rate
19. Linguistic change in 'aristocratic' norm
20. Linguistic change in 'non-aristocratic' norm
21. Altered conception or application of logic, purism, aesthetics
22. Desire to obliterate connotative connection with particular person(s), race(s), or region(s)
23. Unacceptability of previous hierarchizations or limitations
24. Desire for greater or lesser degree of variation within the standard
25. Change in status of absolute standard

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Old French appears to have achieved an impressive, though never overwhelming, level of standardization (of course, all knowledge of it reaches us through a mirror -- scribal practice and tradition -- distorted to a degree we cannot determine). The Early Middle French period (fourteenth to fifteenth centuries) saw a steady flight toward Latin among the cultural avant-garde, with the following results: 1) the failure to 'nativize' assimilated high-language functions; 2) a growing feeling of the vernacular's inferiority and 'ineloquence'.

But as the fifteenth century came to a close, social, political, and linguistic conditions converged into a true rebirth of French standardization activity. The position of the vernacular with regard to the twenty-five hypothetical motivations listed above may be characterized as follows (+ = readjustment necessary for this reason; - = not a problem):<sup>1</sup>

1. +. Jeanne d'Arc (d. 1438) had signalled the beginning of French nationalism. Between 1476 and 1482, Louis XI reassembled the kingdom, conquering Artois, Burgundy, and Picardy, and inheriting Anjou, Maine, and Provence. The language was no longer to be merely francien, but françois. In the first decade of the new century, François I acquired Auvergne, Bourbonnais,

Clermontois, Forez, Marche, and Rouergue.

2. +. Result of the speech community's increased political power.
3. Not determinable.
4. +.
5. +. Still rivalry between the court and the Parisian upper class; but numerous other competitor dialects eliminated.
- 6-8. -
9. +. Renaissance 'discovery' of Greek imposed a 'super-high' stratum. In addition, increasing contact with Italy -- beginning with wars waged by the French throne against Milan and Naples (1494-1529), and, simultaneously, with the travels of French avant-gardistes anxious to absorb advancements made in the cradle of the Renaissance -- led to Italian becoming a third 'high', the only one with a living community of focal speakers.<sup>2</sup>
10. +. First Latin-French vocabulary published, 1487; Latin-French Catholicon, 1498.
- 11-12. +. Growth and increased influence came with the invention of printing (see 13). The press provided a new outlet for ideas, created new 'intellectual' professions.
13. +. Some use as lingua franca throughout the Hexagon. The cardinal fact, however, is the invention of printing: the Chroniques de France reached the press in 1477.
- 14-16. -.
17. +. Massive increase in use of written channel with the invention of printing.
18. +. Began to increase with the invention of printing.
- 19-20. +. The exact changes form the subject matter of the following pages; see also the next paragraph.
- 21-25. -.

Linguistic developments since the Old French period had been radical. Final -s and -t gradually weakened until retained only in specific phonological environments. Partly as a result of this loss, the indication of grammatical relationships shifted from the morphological domain to the syntactic: synthetic case inflections (and free word order) gave way to analytic constructions and strict word order. These changes amounted to a typological upheaval.

As noted under (9) above, Italian was already in a 'high' position relative to French. Its diglossic standing -- and, consequently, its influence on the development of 'restandardized' French, were abruptly increased in 1533 with the marriage of the future Henri II to Catherine de Médicis, and with the arrival at court of her immense entourage. Throughout the remainder of the century, the status of Italian in France would grow steadily, in tandem with Catherine's personal power.<sup>3</sup>

The fate of the French language in the early sixteenth century, then, was to be read in the constellation of four primary forces:

- one political -- the emergence of the French nation;
- one cultural -- the invention and spread of printing;
- one sociocultural -- the addition of new high languages to the diglossia
- one linguistic -- the thorough structural reorganization endured since the previous standardization.

The increases in functional range and community of users led -- predictably -- to a phase of intense elaboration of the synecdochic dialect. Now there was underway not merely a 'restandardization' of francien, nor merely a 'standardization' of françois; but both at once, one within the other, one feeding the other, defining the other, becoming the other.

## 9.2. Elaboration begins

The early sixteenth century found 'Standard French' (still at its ill-defined state of 'upper-class francien') in the throes of numerous linguistic changes-in-progress. Some of these were elaborative, others

were infiltrating from the vernacular level. Of the former group, some were remedial, others cosmetic. Viewed synchronically, these were variants in flux, perfect prey for the sociolinguist had one existed at the time. Listed below are the 'elaborative' changes -- those which entered the standard, for a few years or until the present day, via avant-garde and aristocratic usage. The developments included are those which were a) noted by contemporary grammarians; b) not strictly orthographic; c) well underway, but d) not on the verge of completion at the epoch under investigation.<sup>4</sup>

### Phonology.

El.<sup>5</sup> [a] a > [ɛ] e / \_\_r

SOURCE: aristocratic norm, where it originated as a hypercorrection

Printing was still in its infancy; the spread of literacy and of French-language grammars -- which would ultimately widen the chasm between aristocratic and non-aristocratic, written and spoken, standard and non-standard usage -- was not an overnight development. Innovations still passed with relative freedom from one social stratum to another, either in the form of direct influence or, as in the present case, producing hypercoristic reaction to intolerable class connotation.

Henri Estienne, in his Hypomneses de Gall. lingua peregrinis eam discentibus necessariae: quaedam vero ipsis etiam Gallis multum profuturæ ... (1582: 3-11), attests that the opposite change, e > a / \_\_r, was widespread in popular Parisian usage. He cites forms such as Piarre (Pierre), guarre (guerre), la place Maubart (Maubert).<sup>6</sup> Pre-

sumably, the change infiltrated aristocratic usage, but was arrested and ideologized.<sup>7</sup> The courtisans and ladies of the royal circle, in overzealous avoidance of the taboo, hypercorrected; and this trend was soon adopted by the urban nobility. '... les dames de Paris, au lieu de a prononcent e bien souvent, quant elles disent: mon mery est a la porte de Peris ou il se fait peier' (Mon mari est à la porte de Paris où il se fait payer), wrote Geofroy Tory in Champ fleury auquel est contenu lart et science de la deue et vraye proportion des lettres Attiques, quon dit autrement lettres antiques, et vulgairement lettres romaines, proportionnees selon le corps et visage humain (1529: folio 33). So also catherre for catharre.

Since examples are also found of this change being made before s (e.g.. cataplesme for cataplasme), no interference should have been created by the coeval development [r] r > [z] s (see under C18 below).

E2. [o] o > [u] ou / before or after s, l, r, m, n, ŋ

SOURCE: aristocratic norm, from prestigious southern dialects (probably Lyonnais)<sup>8</sup>

The establishment of the court at Paris and the subsequent centralization of the cultural avant-garde were not to come about until 1600.

The Ile de France dialect had been established as synecdochic; but the court was to be found on the banks of the Loire, the bulk of the aristocracy at Paris, the writers and other avant-gardistes scattered across the country. Lyons achieved considerable standing as a literary center in the sixteenth century, and at least this one characteristic feature of its dialect became 'received usage' at the courts of Henri II, Charles IX, and Henri III. In his Dictionnaire des rimes

françoises (1587), Etienne Tabourot des Accords cites verses such as the following, composed by 'les nouveaux courtisans':<sup>9</sup>

Je m'accoumoude  
Avec le coude  
Pour veoir les pous  
De l'homme grous.

Jan Antoéne de Baïf, in Etrénes de poézie fransoèze au vèrs mezurés ... (1574), writes agousiller, aprouche, arrouse, bourrasque, flouretant, flourettes, flouron, s'oufriront, rousée alongside borrasque, florira, florissant, florit, s'ôfre, rôsée. Further examples: chouse, courone, coulombeau, ouser, Poulogne, proufit, proumener, souleil, voulonté.

E3. [ʏɛ] oi > [ɛ] ai, ei, è, e

SOURCE: aristocratic norm, possibly with high-language (Italian) influence or support

This development clashed directly with the change of [ʏɛ] to [ʏa] in the non-aristocratic norm. At court, the language was called français [-sɛ]; in Paris and surrounding regions, françois [-sʏa]; in the provinces, and in the most conservative urban usage, françois [-sʏɛ]

It is true that Italian manners and influences overwhelmed the French court upon the arrival of Catherine de Médicis and for decades after. Contemporary grammarians did not hesitate to attribute the simplification ʏɛ > ɛ to superstratum influence at court, exerted first in the two languages' common lexical stock: baire [bɛr] for boire (Italian bere); étret for étroit (Italian stretto); fred for froid (Italian freddo), etc. Théodore de Bèze, in his study De Franciae linguae recta pronuntiatione (1584: 54), states that 'imitatores Italicorum (Italo-Franci) pro Anglois, François, Escossois pronuntiant

Angles, Frances, Escosses per e apertum e nomis italicis Inglese, Francese, Scosese.'

In Deux dialogues du nouveau langage françois italianizé et autrement desguizé, principalement entre les courtisans de ce temps (1578), H. Estienne notes that at court

On n'oseroit dire François ni Françoises sur peine d'estre appelé pedent; mais il faut dire Frances et Franceses comme Angles et Anglese ... (Dial. 22).

Il y a longtemps que ceux qui font perfection de prononcer delicament et à la courtisanesque ont quitté ceste prononciation [royne] et ont mieux aimé dire la reine. (Dial. 256).

Quant à François, Anglois, Escossois, Milanois, il y a longtemps que plusieurs [Italiens] ont confessé n'avoir pas la langue bien faicte pour les prononcer; et pourtant suyerans leur langage naturel qui dit Francesé ... (Dial. 555).

The description of François as pedantic indicates that only the pronunciation [-yε] (and not [-ya]) is being taken into consideration.

The Italian factor is not all that clear-cut, however.<sup>10</sup> In the first place, the words listed by Bèze do not have 'e apertum' [ε], but closed e [ɛ], in Italian (so also bere, freddo, stretto).

Secondly, the change of yε to ε overtook the imperfect indicative and the conditional paradigms of all French verbs: étois, parloient, finiroit > étais, parlaient, finirait. No Italian verb has [ε] in the imperfect indicative inflection, and in fact only those of the -ère and -ere conjugations have [ɛ]. The vowel does occur throughout the Italian conditional paradigm; but to assert that the French change originated by indirect phonetic influence in one tense/mood, then spread by analogy to another tense/mood, would certainly strain credulity.

We do not seem to be dealing, in any case, with a direct super-

stratum imposition. Could the simplification have come about as a resolution of the awkwardness the diphthong presented to the mouths of these non-native speakers, as Estienne suggests? This is possible; but Standard Italian has a diphthong uo (fuoco, poggiuolo) that would appear to belie any phonotactic causation. On the other hand -- many Italian dialects never developed this diphthong, or else regularly simplify [uɔ] to [ɔ]. Even the national language recognizes two forms as standard for a number of words, one with the semi-consonant (nuoc-  
cio, spagnuolo), one without (nocchio, spagnolo). At present, the theory of Italian influence can neither be proved nor disproved.

#### E4. Spelling pronunciations

SOURCE: written usage based on etymological orthography

Middle French spelling	Early Middle French pronunciation	Post-elaboration standard pronunciation
adjuger	aʒyʒér	adʒyʒér
admonester	amonɛstér	admonɛstér
advenir	avɛnir	advɛnir
destre or dextre	détræ	détræ
dicton	ditɔ̃n	diktɔ̃n
hymne	inæ	imnæ
object	oʒé	objé
obscur	oskúr	obskúr
obstiné	ostiné	obstiné
obvier	ovier	obvier
pastoureau	paturreu or -rò	pasturreu or -rò
pseaume	séumæ or sòmæ	pséumæ or psòmæ

Advenir was not even a learned word; it had been inherited by French directly from the Proto-Romance lexical stock, and appeared regularly

in Old French as avenir. Subsequently, the older form was readmitted into the standard language, and a convenient distinction was established: advenir became restricted to the verbal form, avenir to its nominal counterpart.

The other items in the list were early loans, entering the language between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

### Morphology.

#### E5. Superlative -issime

SOURCE: diglossic 'high' -- Italian

Here the Medici court was decidedly responsible for generating a superstratum influence and bringing it into general fashion. The grammarian Jean Pillot, in his Gallicae linguae instituto (1550), declares that certain persons desirous of 'enriching' the vernacular have given it a superlative 'per imitationem Latinorum: dicunt pro tres-sçavant, sçavantissime; pro tres-bon, bonissime; reverendissime.' He notes the currency of these forms at court, and their adoption by social-climbers of the city. Other examples: sérénissime, richissime, rarissime.

This courtisan importation met with competition from another, more scholarly elaboration -- E6, immediately below.

#### E6. Comparative -ieur, superlative -isme (-ime)

SOURCE: diglossic 'high' -- Latin

A very small number of -issimu type superlatives had been transmitted through Old French: hautisme, grandisme, saintisme. Also, Early

Middle French had borrowed a number of Latin comparatives -- inférieur, supérieur, antérieur, postérieur -- and even retained their semantic identity as comparatives, not subject to the usual French construction with plus.

Certain writers of the sixteenth century, most notably Jacques Péletier in L'art poétique (1555), made it known that they were 're-claiming the right' to form new Latin-style -ior comparatives and -issimus superlatives with French stems. Thereafter, standard usage became sprinkled with new paradigms: docte, doctieur, doctime; sçav-  
vant, sçavantieur, sçavantime; hardi, hardieur, hardime; and so on.

E7. -esque

SOURCE: diglossic 'high' -- Italian

Italian -esco originated as a vernacular borrowing from the language of the Germanic invaders. Transferred and adapted by the Medici court, it quickly became a productive morpheme in Standard French, attachable to stems which the Italian counterpart had never encountered; examples: moliéresque, marivaudesque.

E8. je + 1P verb

SOURCE: aristocratic norm

Palsgrave's Eclaircissement de la langue françoise (1530:331) states that it was 'generele usage' at court to say je allons bien, je serons bien, j'avons fait un grant exploit, and so forth (the inconsistency between je allons and j'avons is left unexplained). Other examples may be found in the writings of Marguerite de Navarre (also called

de Valois and d'Angoulême), the daughter of Catherine de Médicis. Apparently this innovation originated within the French court; at least, no external source or causation has been found or suggested.

E9. je suis esté

SOURCE: diglossic 'high' -- Italian

The formation of the compound past tenses of estre with estre in place of avoir, directly imitated from Italian, became quite regular in the works of certain writers. Romance dialects vary in the choice of auxiliary used with the verb 'to be', but the French synecdochic norm has been solidly established since the earliest Old French: j'ay esté, modern j'ai été.

Phrase syntax.

E10. Use of imperfect subjunctive in place of conditional

SOURCE: (perhaps) diglossic 'high' -- Latin

Darmesteter and Hatzfeld classify this, without reservation, as a Latinism.<sup>11</sup> Divergences, formal or semantic, between the tense/mood/aspect system of Latin and those of the Romance languages are scarcely less common than correspondences. Corresponding in form to the French imperfect subjunctive are the inflections of the Latin pluperfect subjunctive; the two languages employ similar-looking forms in very different syntactic slots. A number of structures which require a pluperfect subjunctive in Latin are formed with the conditional mood in Early Middle French, as well as in the standard language of the present day.

For the new Latin readers of the sixteenth century, use of the Latin-like tense/mood in the Latin-like syntactic slots when speaking and writing French became a fashionable elegance. Examples: 'Il est peu d'hommes qui ozaissent mettre en evidence les requestes secretes qu'il font à Dieu ...' (Montaigne, Essais, 1580: 1.56); 'Qui me payast, réplique l'autre, je m'en allasse' (Etienne Pasquier, Recherches de la France, 1560-1621: 8.59); 'Si ces auteurs eussent jugé que ... ils n'eussent sceu produire ...' (Du Bellay, Défence et illustration de la langue françoise, 1549: 1,3).

Sentences similar to the last, with imperfect subjunctive in both protasis and apodosis of a hypothetical condition, were in fact common in Old French. This fact, unmentioned by Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, causes one to hesitate before accepting their label of 'Latinism'. Nevertheless, such uses had clearly ceased to be normal by the Middle French period. If E10 did indeed constitute a Latin-inspired elaboration, it may have been perceived not as a novelty, but as the revival of an archaism that had survived marginally within the vernacular synecdochic dialect.

Furetière's Roman bourgeois (1666) contains the following lines, spoken by Javotte, a 'jeune fille très simple':<sup>12</sup>

Croyez-vous que je voulusse ferrer la mule en cette occasion?  
Ce serait un gros péché d'y penser. (Ch. 1).

Both the date of composition and the social status of the speaker are noteworthy. Could her syntax represent a survival in lower-class dialects of the type of structure seen in Old French -- structures which had disappeared from higher linguistic strata? Or, given the late

date, could voulusse result from the dissemination of E10 from the avant-garde and aristocratic level into popular speech?

In any case, the contexts in which E10 appears in the Standard French of the sixteenth century are clearly those of an elaborative element, not of one that has infiltrated from lower-class speech.

#### E11. Object infinitive construction

SOURCE: diglossic 'high' -- Latin

This syntactic arrangement, in which the direct object of the main verb serves as subject of a dependent infinitive, did not occur in Old French in any case where the direct object was a noun or noun phrase (not a pronoun). Latin, on the contrary, regularly said dicunt puellam esse bonam, etc.; not surprisingly, the first attestations of such structures in French occur in translations of Latin works. They are found as early as the fourteenth century -- but in the sixteenth century they suddenly became a ubiquitous feature of written usage, even penetrating the language of those who knew no Latin.<sup>13</sup>

Examples: 'Ils demandoient les cloches leur estre rendues' (Rabelais, Gargantua, 1535: 18); 'Cuides-tu ces ouvrages estre recelez es esprits éternels?' (Rabelais, Gargantua, 1535: 36); '... et cet ancien joueur de lyre, que Pausanias récite avoir accoustumé contraindre ses disciples d'aller ouyr un mauvais sonneur ...' (Montaigne, Essais, 1580: 3.8); 'Aristote dit aux beaux appartenir le droict de commander ...' (Montaigne, Essais, 1580: 3.12).

Lexicon.

## E12. 'Learned' words

SOURCE: diglossic 'highs' -- Latin; Greek (frequently via Latin)

The mechanism of lexical elaboration was examined at length in Chapter Six. Here is a specimen translation from the period. First, the original -- Hue de Saint Victor's Commentarium on the Politics of Aristotle:

Politica est que reipublice curam sustinens cunctorum saluti sue prudentie sollertia justitieque libra et fortitudinis stabilitate ac temperantie paciencia medetur, ut ipsa dicat de semet, per me reges regnant et legum conditores justa decernunt.

Now, Nicole Oresme's translation, from the Prologue to his version of the Politiques, rendered into French from the earlier Latin translation by Guillaume de Moerbeka:<sup>14</sup>

Politique est celle qui soustient la cure de la chose publique, et qui par l'industrie de sa prudence et par la balance ou pois de sa justice et par la constance et fermeté de sa fortitude et la patience de son attrempance donne medecine au salut de touz, en tant que elle puet dire de soy meismes, par moy les roys regnent et ceulz qui font les loiz discernent et determinent par moy quelles choses sont justes.

Within this sentence, the following words are elaborative neologisms: politique, cure, publique, industrie, prudence, justice, constance, fermeté, fortitude, patience, medecine, salut, discernent, determinent, justes.<sup>15</sup>

This raises an important point: the transference process by which avant-gardistes elaborate the native vernacular does not always come about through conscious effort. Following extensive contact with a foreign tongue, one often finds oneself unintentionally transferring words from it into one's native language, making such phonological and

morphological alterations as are appropriate. These nativized elements, not to be found in any dictionary, may not even attract the speaker's attention -- nor that of his interlocutor, if the latter is familiar with the second language as well.

If an influential member of the cultural avant-garde should thus accidentally create a word that does not exist -- especially if he does so in writing -- then the word suddenly does exist. We cannot determine whether any elements were elaborated into the French language in this way, but it is a distinct possibility, particularly in the area of lexicon. 'Unintentional' elaborations are at least as likely as their premeditated counterparts to be remedial rather than cosmetic in nature.

The following list of elaborative Latin and Greek borrowings is intended to be representative, not complete. In fact, the total number of such loans -- excluding, of course, those which were never written, or which appeared only in writings that have not survived -- is staggering; a rapid glance through any etymological dictionary will suffice to show the degree to which the French lexical stock was effectively 'remade' in the Renaissance.

abscons, first attested 1509	
bibliothécaire, 1518	infus, 1541
conversation, 1537	jurisprudence, 1562
déclamer, 1542	kyste, 1560
extoller, 16th c.	ludificatoire, 16th c.
fulguration, 1532	manutention, 1478
gnomon, 1547	natal, c.1500
hygiène, 1550	orchestre, 1520

préfaction, 16th c.	température, 1562
quinteux, 1542	ultérieur, 1531
ratiociner, 1546	vindicté, 1555
sagette, late 15th c.	xyste, 1547
tempérament, 1538	zoophore, 1546

Tempérament, of course, covered a wide range of literal and figurative meanings. Température entered the language as a rival elaboration covering only a limited segment of that range -- 'degree of heat' -- from which it ultimately ousted the earlier form.

### E13. Borrowed words

SOURCE: diglossic 'high' -- Italian

The words of E12 are also 'borrowed', of course. Of the terms 'borrowed' and 'learned', the former is unmarked, the latter usually restricted to cases in which the source language is a classical tongue.

Lexical borrowing from Italian was extensive during this period, though it never approached the levels of importation from Latin and Greek. The list below, like that above, is representative rather than complete:

arcade, 1562	liste, 1567
baster, 1534	macaronique, 1546
charlatan, 1543	numéro, 1560
doccia, 1588	ombrelle, 1588
escorte, c.1500	politesse, 1578
fugue, 1598	réussir, c.1550
garbe, 1550	spadassin, 1532
hippogriffe, 1560	trajet, 1553
infanterie, 1500	villanelle, 1586
intermedie, 1559	zizolin, 1599

Semantics.

## E14. Borrowed meanings

SOURCE: diglossic 'highs' -- usually Latin

Frequently, members of the avant-garde would begin employing a French word as though its meaning were that of an etymologically related, but semantically divergent, Latin word. When this was done consistently, and by influential persons, the result could be an elaboration of the Latin meaning into the semantic repertoire of the French lexeme.

amplification: this word was originally taken into Early Middle French in the fourteenth century, with the meaning 'growth'. Avant-gardistes of the sixteenth century gave it the additional meaning 'development', derived from the Latin source.

consister: first taken into French in the fourteenth century with the meaning 'to exist in a solid state', this word underwent at least two subsequent semantic elaborations. In the early sixteenth century it is found with the most common meaning of Latin consistere: 'to hold together'. An additional sense was loaned to it: 'to remain in the same state; not to change'.

élection: original meaning (twelfth century): 'choice of one or more persons by the voting process'. Elaborated meaning (sixteenth century): 'choice' in general, of a person or a thing, by whatever means.

sollicitude: first attested around 1265, with the meaning 'cause for worry or concern'. In Early Middle French the word underwent a semantic shift, emerging with the sense 'careful, affectionate attention' and losing the older meaning entirely. Avant-gardistes of

the sixteenth century -- perhaps quite unaware that the word possessed this force in older French -- gave it the meaning 'cause for worry or concern' via elaboration from Latin.

Sentence syntax.

E15. The Ciceronian period

SOURCE: diglossic 'high' -- Latin

Old French prose covers a gamut of styles, of course; yet, in the main, sentence structures are limited. Many works consist of nothing more than short, simple, straightforward sentences, narrating events in precise chronological order. When more complex syntactic arrangements are attempted, employing subordinate phrases and clauses, juncture is often made in so loose and indirect a fashion that any truly intricate structure is unthinkable.<sup>16</sup>

Methods of constructing chains of subordinate and coordinate statement were among the heritage acquired by the Middle French avant-gardistes from the writings of their Roman masters. Particularly influential in this regard were Titus Livy and, above all, Cicero. The following is a typical sentence from Cicero's first letter to L.

Luccius:

Neque tamen, haec cum scribebam, eram nescius, quantis oneribus premerere susceptarum rerum et iam institutarum; sed quia uidebam Italici belli et civilis historiam iam a te poene esse perfectam dixeras autem mihi te reliquas res ordiri; deesse mihi nolui quin te admonerem, ut cogitares, coniunctere malles cum reliquis rebus nostra contexere, an ut multi Graeci fecerunt, Callisthenes Troicum bellum, Timaeus Pyrrhi, Polybius Numantinum; qui omnes a perpetuis suis historiis ea quae dixi bella separauerunt; tu quoque item ciuilem coniurationem ab hostilibus externisque bellis seiungeres.

Now an anonymous translation of the sixteenth century:

Je n'ignore pas non-plus, en vous ecrivant, dans combien d'entreprises vous estes engagé et combien vous en avez déjà commencé; mais voyant que vous avez presque achevé l'Histoire de la Guerre Italique, et me souvenant de vous avoir entendu dire à vous-mesme que vous allez entrer dans les affaires qui l'ont suivie, je n'ai pas voulu manquer, pour mon propre interest, de vous faire faire attention lequel convient le mieulx, ou de traicter ce qui me regarde conjointement avec le reste des affaires publiques, ou de separer une Histoire civile, telle que la conjuration de Catalina, de l'Histoire des Guerres etrangeres; à l'exemple d'un grand nombre des Grecs, qui ont traicté ces subjects à part, comme Callisthenes a fait la Guerre de Troie, Timée celle de Pyrrhus, et Polybe celle de Numance.

When they turned to original composition, the avant-gardistes -- trained on such translation -- would not or could not put aside the style. The passage from Oresme quoted under E12 above continues as follows; having finished with the translation from Saint Victor, the author provides his own commentary:

Et aussi comme par la science et art de medecine les corps sont mis et gardez en santé, selon la possibilité de nature, semblablement par la prudence et industrie qui est expliquée et descripte en ceste doctrine, les policies ont esté instituées, gardées et reformées, et les royaumes et principes maintenez, tout comme estoit possible; car les choses humaines ne sont pas perpetueles et de ceulz qui ne peuvent estre telz ou qui ne sont telz, l'en scet par elle comment on les doit gouverner par autres policies au miex qu'il est possible, selon la nature des regions et des peuples et selon leurs meurs.

Besides the abstruseness of syntax, it is worth noting that he keeps up his freedom of neologism to a significant degree: science, medecine, possibilité, nature, prudence, industrie, expliquée, doctrine, policies, instituées, principes, possible, perpetueles, regions.

Eventually, Ciceronian sentence structure became normal even in contexts involving neither translation nor classical subject matters. In the following passage from Alain Chartier's Quadriloge invectif (p. 58), France entreats the three estates, Noblesse, Clergé, and People, to defend their legitimate king against the English pretenders:

Et puis que Dieu et Nature vous ont creez plus parfaiz des autres choses qui ont ames, ne soiez pas plus désordonnez que les mendres besteletes, ne plus negligens ou mains enclinez a vostre commune salvation, utilité et defense, que sont les mouchetes a miel, que chascune en leur essaim gardent leurs offices et leurs ordres et mectent leur vie pour deffendre et entretenir leur assemblée et leur petite police, et pour garder la seigneurie de leur roy qui règne entre elles soubz une petite ruche, que moult de foiz, quant il est navrez en leurs batailles contre une autre compagnie d'autres mouchetes, elles portent et soustiennent a leurs eles et se laissent mourir pour luy maintenir sa seigneurie et sa vie.

When acculturation is still in the relatively primitive stages, as it was in France at the start of the sixteenth century, the avant-garde often admire and emulate only what seems magnificent, monumental. Not until a more advanced level is attained does one begin to appreciate such qualities as subtlety and simple elegance, and ultimately to prefer them to the bombastic. Such a change in attitudes is, to be sure, connected with the institution of the control process.

Among the fifteen elaborations, diglossic influence appears to be restricted to structural levels beyond the phonetic, except in the case of spelling pronunciations (E4) and possibly of Italian support for the change  $u\epsilon > \epsilon$  (E3). Furthermore, all developments beyond the phonetic level are traceable to diglossic influence, with the exception of je + 1P verb (E8; source unknown), and presuming that the substitution of imperfect subjunctive for present conditional (E10) actually constitutes a Latinism.

In these correlations one may perhaps discern the cardinal role that the printing function acquired in a surprisingly short time after its introduction. The alphabetic system employed for French, while phonemic at base, did not (and does not today) reflect all phonemic

distinctions within the language in a clear and unambiguous fashion. The letter s, for example, could represent /s/ (le sien), /z/ (lisons), or Ø (est).<sup>17</sup> Conversely, the phoneme /s/ could be indicated as s (le sien), c (le ciel), ç (leçon), t (patitient), ss (laisssons), sc (le scie), or sç (le sçavoir). The point is that spelling allows room for minor phonetic -- and more importantly, minor phonemic -- changes to enter the dialect serving as basis of the written norm, without the need for immediate orthographic readjustment. Morphological, syntactic, lexical, and semantic developments, on the other hand, could not be absorbed within the alphabet's range of flexibility. These required deliberate, authoritative introduction into written usage -- and such purposeful introduction was unlikely to occur unless supported by the prestige of a diglossic high language.

### 9.3. Early countertendencies to the 'age of illustration'

From the preceding paragraph it is evident that this early period of elaboration was tempered, from the first, by tendencies toward control built inherently into such standard-language functions as printing. By mid-century, with elaboration having progressed to an extensive degree, the time was ripe for control to begin emerging as a vital and potent activity in its own right.

The year 1530 saw the publication of 'la première grande grammaire française':<sup>18</sup> Palsgrave's Eclaircissement de la langue française -- a second-language grammar, written for speakers of English. This was supplemented in 1532 by An introductorie for to lerne to rede, to pronounce and to speke French truly, penned by Giles du Wes

specifically for the use of members of the British royal family, and later more widely circulated.

Not for a moment was Palsgrave considered 'the last word'. Quite the contrary -- his was the cry of havoc that let slip the dogs of war. Grammatical controversies were opened and grammatical professions born. But control did not quickly or easily become established as the order of the day; the 'age of elaboration' had yet to reach its climax, and would in fact endure up until the final quarter of the century.

So pervasive was the climate of elaboration that certain of the 'primordial' control decisions effected during this period were themselves 'elaborative' in nature. Two of the most interesting were the following:

C16. Past participle agreement with avoir

Early Middle French, like Old French, lacked a set practice with regard to the inflection of past participles in transitive, non-reflexive sentences. Sometimes they were treated as adjectives and made to agree in gender and number with the object of the verb; other times they were taken as part of the verb and left invariable.

Brunot and Bruneau assert without reservation that in

1532: ... Marot, pour obéir à une fantaisie du Roi, donnera la règle des participes avec avoir, imitée de l'Italien (Ep. à ses amis, vers 1532). Pour la première fois une règle arbitraire interrompt le développement normal de la langue.<sup>19</sup>

The pertinent section of the epistle runs as follows:

Enfans, oyez une leçon:  
Notre langue a ceste façon  
Que le terme qui va devant  
Voluntiers regist le suivant:  
Pour le mieulx: car à dire vray

La chanson fut bien ordonnée  
 Qui dit: 'M'amour vous ai donnée.'  
 Et du bateau est estonné  
 Qui dit: 'M'amour vous ay donné.'  
 Voilà la force que possède  
 Le féminin, quand il précède.  
 Or prouveray par bons tesmoings  
 Que tous pluriels n'en font pas moins.  
 Il faut dire en termes parfaictz:  
 'Dieu en ce monde nous a faictz.'  
 Fault dire en parolles parfaites:  
 'Dieu en ce monde les a faictes.'  
 Et ne fault point dire en effect  
 'Dieu en ce monde les a fait.'  
 Ne 'nous a faict' pareillement,  
 Mais 'nous a faictz' tout rondement.  
 L'Italien dont la faconde  
 Passe les vulgaires du monde  
 Son langage a ainsi basty  
 En disant: 'Dio noi a fatti.'

As I stated earlier, this was not yet an era of control. Marot's dictum went widely unheeded, even within standard usage, for many years to come. Eventually it would be established as a rule par excellence, and even become normal within the synecdochic dialect.

CRITERION: extra-normal: imitation of diglossic 'high' --  
 Italian

C15a. The Senecan sentence

The manner in which this type of sentence syntax entered standard usage qualifies it fully as an 'elaboration'. However, the motivation leading to its adoption was precisely the desire for an alternative to the Ciceronian period (E15), which had monopolized standard usage and was growing unwieldy. In this way, the Senecan sentence was to act as a control on the earlier and more widespread borrowing.

The following is a typical passage from Seneca's De beneficiis  
 (Book Three):

Non referre beneficiis gratiam et est turpe et apud omnes habetur, Aebutii Liberalis; ideo de ingratis etiam ingrati queruntur, cum interim hoc aequae omnibus haeret, quod omnibus displicet ... (1.1).

... hic numquam fieri gratus potest, cui beneficium totum elapsum est. Et utrum tu peiorem uocas, apud quem gratia beneficii intercidit, an apud quem etiam memoria? Vitiosi oculi sunt, qui lucem reformidant, caeci, qui non uident; et parentes suos non amare impietas est, non agnoscere insania. (1.4-5).

And a translation by Malherbe (1639):

Il n'y a personne qui n'auoie que c'est une uilaine chose que l'ingratitude. Les ingrats mesmes se plaignent des ingrats. Neantmoins tout le monde fait ce que tout le monde blasme ...

Mais il n'y a pas d'apparence que iamais ceux-la ce ressentent d'un plaisir, qui ne se souuiennent du tout point de l'auoir receu. Où trouerez-vous donc plus de crime, en vne reconnoissance suspenduë, ou en vne memoire enseuelie? Ceux qui craignent la lumiere ont les yeux malades, ceux qui ne la voyent du tout point sont aveugles. Qui n'ayme point ceux qui l'ont mis au monde, a de l'impieté, qui les méconnoist, est hors du sens.

The adaptation of Senecan style for original French composition, begun in the first half of the sixteenth century, reached its peak with the Essais (1580) of Michel de Montaigne. This extract from Livre 1, Chapitre 40 exemplifies well the type of structure involved:

J'honore le plus ceux que j'honore le moins; et, où mon ame marche d'une grande allegresse, j'oublie les pas de la contenance. Et m'offre maigrement et fierement à ceux à qui je suis. Et me presente moins à qui je me suis le plus donné: il me semble qu'ils le doivent lire en mon coeur, et que l'expression de mes paroles fait tort à ma conception.

The ideals: brevity, and balance. The influence would finally be decisive as a stopgap on Ciceronian eloquence. Yet it is worth noting that even Montaigne, in his prefaces and letters (where he would presumably be employing a style more natural to himself and to his times) seldom failed to 'cicéroniser'.

CRITERION: extra-normal: imitation of diglossic 'high' -- Latin

By the end of the 1530s -- the decade that had opened with the appearance of Palsgrave's grammar -- (re)standardization of the language, and popular attitudes concerning it, had progressed sufficiently for an unprecedented and decisive increase in functional domain to be enacted into law. The Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterets stands still today as 'l'acte le plus important du gouvernement dans toute l'histoire de la langue'.<sup>20</sup> It decreed that the French language would replace Latin in all legal and judicial documents within the realm. This command had a double significance: not only were a number of central high-language functions assimilated from Latin; but in addition, French was quickly and forcefully imposed upon the south and peripheral areas of the north, where it was still often little known and less used.

As ever, increases in functional sphere and status fuelled accelerating formal development. In another decade, the 'age of elaboration' attained its zenith with the appearance of Du Bellay's Défence et illustration de la langue française (1549) -- manifesto of the seven poets called 'la Pléiade', after the seven great poets of Alexandria in the third century B.C. (writers of Greek, be it noted). Now the foremost literary and linguistic forces of France, along with their train of young adulators and imitators, were working toward a common goal: the enrichissement of the standard literary dialect.

Elements were permitted to enter the standard from dialects other than the synecdochic; in some cases, such elements were

deliberately sought out. Study and imitation of the ancients led to resurrection of their literary genres: the first 'tragédie' and 'comédie' appeared in 1552. Over the coming years, Standard French would continue to infringe upon the functional range of Latin, becoming the vehicle of numerous works in philosophy and the natural and physical sciences -- the classical tongue's traditional stronghold.

#### 9.4. The tide turns: control takes hold

Precisely at mid-century, a signal event occurred: the publication of the first native-language grammar of French, Le tretté de la grammere françoise, fet per Louis Meigret, Lionois. That the author was not a Parisian but a Lyonnais may help us understand his incentive for writing the work;<sup>21</sup> it was, nevertheless, published at Paris. A large number of competitors followed immediately in its wake.

The spark ignited by Palsgrave was now kindled, and would grow in intensity bit by bit until century's end. For the time being, it could not rival the full-blown blaze of the elaboration movement. But already the elaborative measures outlined above were coming under examination -- even if no directly effective moves toward limitation could be advanced until the approach of the seventeenth century and the age of 'classicism'.

The attitude of controllers towards E1-E15 may be summarized as follows:

C1. [a] a > [ɛ] e / \_\_\_ r

One must bear in mind the strange circumstances in which E1 arose. In its way, it acted as a control mechanism within the standard dialect. Moreover, from the beginning it had the status of a 'fad', which may well have added to its appeal.

Little effort had to be exerted directly toward the limitation of E1. Once the opposite and provoking change, e > a, had been successfully limited from the standard dialect, the motivation for the hypercorrection ceased to exist, and, like most such fashions, it faded rapidly. But it left behind traces: the courtisan pronunciations asperge, serge, and serpe of earlier asparge, sarge, and sarpe, became established, never to be eradicated. In the case of serge, at least, the attempt was made -- Vaugelas himself, in the following century, became conscious of the control lacuna and publicized it. Yet by that time even his authority was insufficient to re-establish the original form.

CRITERIA: normal: non-aristocratic  
extra-normal: purism

C2. [o] o > [u] ou / before or after s, l, r, m, n, ŋ

E2 grew into one of the century's biggest linguistic controversies: the battle of the ouistes and the non ouistes. The latter, with both normal and extra-normal control weapons to brandish, eventually triumphed. The dandified pronunciation was brought to ridicule, and grammarians such as H. Estienne reprimanded the offending courtisans:<sup>22</sup>

Si tant vous aimez les ou doux,  
 N'estes vous pas bien de grands fous  
 De dire chouse au lieu de chose?  
 De dire j'ouse au lieu de j'ose?

(Deux dialogues du nouveau langage françois italianizé ..., 1578:  
 dialogue remontrance). Many years later, le Père Laurent Chiffet  
 would reminisce:

J'ay veu le temps que presque toute la France estoit pleine  
 de chouses; tous ceux qui se piquoient d'estre diserts chou-  
saient à chaque période. Et je me souviens qu'en une belle  
 assemblée un certain lisant hautement ces vers:

Jetez lui des lyrs et des roses  
 Ayant fait de si belles choses,

quand il fut arrivé à choses, il s'arresta craignant de faire  
 une rime ridicule; puis n'osant dementir sa nouvelle prononci-  
 ation, il dit bravement chouses. Mais il n'y eut personne de  
 ceux qui l'entendoient qui ne baissast la teste, pour rire à  
 son aise, sans lui donner trop de confusion. Enfin la pauvre  
chouse vint à tel mépris que quelques railleurs disoient que  
 ce n'estoit plus que la femelle d'un chou.

(Essay d'une parfaite grammaire de la langue françoise, 1659).

CRITERIA: normal: non-aristocratic  
 extra-normal: purism

C3. [uɛ] oi > [ɛ] ai, ei, è, e

Particular attention was given to this development by grammarians,  
 because it involved every occurrence of a common diphthong, without  
 the intervention of any phonetic conditioning; because it represent-  
 ed (reputed) foreign influence in the most closed of closed systems,  
 phonology; and because it had filtered with relative rapidity  
 through many social layers within the synecdochic dialect, rather  
 than being limited to the standard usage of the Italianized court.

Syntactic, lexical, semantic, even morphological elements are  
 comparatively small trouble to isolate. What can be isolated can

usually be eliminated. But a phonetic change cannot so easily be undone. This was a major cause for French grammarians' fear that the new Italian influence could 'harm' the language irreparably. Henri Estienne devoted a book to the 'nouveau langage françois italianizé' (see under E3 and C2), calling attention to the threat, ridiculing the instigators, and urging control. By the time Vaugelas took up the issue in the 1600s, the change had disseminated widely enough that no simplistic, all-inclusive solution could be effectuated.

The control decisions eventually reached in this case are as mysterious as the origin of the elaboration itself. In general, E3 was eradicated from the standard dialect -- with exceptions of immense importance. Most significant, of course, are the inflections of the imperfect indicative and present conditional verb paradigms. By the seventeenth century, forms such as je parlois [-ua] (though 'popular' and non-aristocratic during the sixteenth) were restricted to the archaizing super-standard (hence non-standard) dialects of palace, court, and pulpit. (In spelling, the oi was retained for many years to come).

E3 was also largely retained as standard in the nouns and adjectives referring to peoples and their languages. But this was not done uniformly, and the disorder persists to the present day: Hollandais (first attested 1512), Japonais (16th c.), Polonais (1588); but Suédois (16th c.), Chinois (1610), Québécois (17th c.).

In other lexical categories, the simplified form was sporadi-

cally retained by the standard. Grammarians legislated, inexplicably, in favor of claie, connaître, craie, faible, frais, harnais, monnaie, paraître, raie, je vais, rather than the earlier cloie, connoître, croie, foible, frois, monnoie, paroître, rois, je vois (cf. je dois). In at least two cases, raide/roide and harnais/harnois, no control decision was made, and the pairs coexisted until the late nineteenth century, when the oi forms finally subsided and became characterized as 'archaic'.

A final note: the doublets François(e) (personal name) and Français(e) (noun indicating nationality). The ai form of this particular word was, to be sure, highly prone to ideologization by controllers. H. Estienne did not hesitate to inform the ladies and gentlemen of the court that their pronunciation [-sɛ] amounted to 'très sottie mignarderie'.

Where 'sottise' becomes normal, however, purism's victories are rare.

CRITERIA: extra-normal: purism, connotation

#### (Non-C)4. Spelling pronunciations

Here, purism directed toward the high tongue outweighed any notion of purism toward the native vernacular. The early pronunciations appear to have been forgotten quickly; doubtless these learned words (and perhaps advenir as well) were still restricted to the limited circle of the avant-garde, where a greater amount of uniformity could be attained.

I find no evidence that any attempt was ever made to control

C5. Superlative -issime

This form never achieved normality, even within the standard dialect's community of users. Unanimous and vociferous condemnation by grammarians 'limited' it from the very beginning, thus precluding the need for later 'elimination'.

One trace has remained: the honorific title altesse sérénissime. Furthermore, the morpheme is occasionally resurrected in modern usage (as when a critic terms a play 'médiocrissime'), almost always with comic effect.

CRITERIA: normal: non-aristocratic, aristocratic  
extra-normal: purism

C6. Comparative -ieur, superlative -isme (-ime)

No one could propose the limitation of these morphemes from productive duty on the grounds that they were 'un-French', given the presence of the inherited superlatives and the solidly established borrowed comparatives mentioned under E6. On the contrary, those who employed -ieur and -isme boasted that they were restoring a lost faculty to the language.

Yet the forms met with ridicule, and their productive use in the standard dialect soon became an embarrassment to be shunned. In his Jeux rustiques, Du Bellay launched a sonnet at his friend Baïf, who had perhaps indulged in some ill-advised -ieur and -ime coining:<sup>23</sup>

Bravime esprit, sur tous excellentime,  
Qui mesprisant ces vanimes abois,  
As entonné d'une hautime voix  
Des sçavantimes la trompe bruyantime;  
De tes doux vers le style coulantime,  
Tant estimé par les doctieurs françois

Justiment ordonne que tu sois  
 Par ton sçavoir a tous reverandime.  
 Nul mieux de toy, gentillime poëte,  
 Los que chascun grandiment souhaite,  
 Façonne un vers doulciment naïf;  
 Et nul de toy hardieurement en France  
 Va déchassant l'indoctime ignorance  
 Docte, doctieur, et doctime Baïf.

It may well be that the utter lack of pragmatic justification for this elaboration (the analytic construction with plus had a simple elegance of its own) made its pedantry appear all the more blatant and laughable.

CRITERIA: normal: non-aristocratic  
 extra-normal: connotation, aesthetics

(Non-C)7. -esque

Elaboration E7 would seem cosmetic at first glance, since French already possessed a number of adjectivizing suffixes: -ien, -ique, -iste, etc. Yet this may not quite be the case, judging from the reaction of native French speakers I have consulted. The suffixes mentioned do not always express the same degree of distance between the person (or thing) on whose name the adjective is based, and the person or object to whom the adjective is applied. L'humour rabelaisien, homérique, rousseauiste can refer to humor found in the actual writings of Rabelais, Homer, Rousseau; but l'humour molièresque, marivaudesque is restricted to humor done in the style of Molière and Marivaux, by imitators. Perhaps, then, -esque filled a minor semantic need, providing a suffix that unambiguously excluded reference to the person or object to whose name it was attached.

C8. Je + 1P verb

C9. Je suis esté

Both of the elaborations E8 and E9 were 'fads' that never became normal even in aristocratic usage. As in the case of C6, the overt 'cosmeticness' of the changes highlighted their foppishness. Grammarians' frowns and gibes smothered them without a struggle.

CRITERIA: normal: non-aristocratic, aristocratic  
extra-normal: purism

(Non-C)10. Imperfect subjunctive in place of conditional

Though just as cosmetic as its morphological counterparts discussed above, E10 was never ostracized by controllers. Perhaps recognition of it as a 'native archaism' within the vernacular gave it a type of puristic support. In any case, the substitution of imperfect subjunctive for present conditional in various types of clauses remained standard -- if non-normal -- until the imperfect subjunctive fell out of normal usage.

(Non-C)11. Object infinitive construction

E11 was never ideologized nor even decried by grammarians, but was exorcised from the language in a much subtler way. In the sixteenth century, object infinitive sentences 'se rencontrent partout'; however, 'Elles ont dû rester une élégance "d'école", et n'ont pas dû se répandre dans le français parlé, car on les voit disparaître d'elles-mêmes au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle.'<sup>24</sup>

(Non-C)12. 'Learned' words

(Non-C)13. Borrowed words

(Non-C)14. Borrowed meanings

As the age of elaboration subsided, its last holdout remained the areas of lexicon and semantics -- the most open of open systems. It was, of course, here that most of the effort toward enrichissement and illustration had been directed. The attitude that a language's lexical stock constitutes a sort of 'treasure house' persisted until the time of Racine. By then, the fate of most of the sixteenth century's elaborative acquisitions had already been decided -- by the process described under (Non-C)10 above.

Of the words listed under E12, extoller, ludificatoire, and préfaction were definitively eliminated from the standard language during the classical age; others were to fall out of usage over the ensuing centuries.

From the list in E13, doccia, garbe, intermedie, and zizolin endured an interesting fate. As they spread from the standard dialect into other social levels, they underwent phonetic changes; subsequently, the altered forms became normal and ultimately ousted the original loans from the language. Galbe is first attested in 1578, intermède in 1597, zinzolin in 1617, douche in the seventeenth century.

Of the list in E14, amplification and sollicitude lost their elaborative meanings; that of élection remains standard, but archaic. Consister practically ceased to mean anything at all, and could only be used if compounded with a preposition.

#### C15a. The Ciceronian period

Every step in the elaboration of a vernacular is made at the expense of the diglossic high language. As French became a langue

illustrée, the status of Latin in France decreased proportionately. The avant-garde never ceased admiring the Roman masters; but as the reputation and the functional sphere of their native tongue grew, they no longer needed to follow those masters blindly. Instead, 'tastes' -- and common sense -- could be applied. Whether or not one had recourse to the alternative elaboration of Senecan style (C15a), one found means of simplifying. A new aesthetic was born.

CRITERIA: normal: non-aristocratic  
extra-normal: aesthetics

As usual, control decisions were not limited to elaborative elements, but were extended to elements that had entered or were on the verge of entering the standard at the vernacular level. The following are those to which the most attention was given:

C17. h- > juncture ~ ∅

In 1530, persons who retained initial [h] in their speech pronounced it strongly enough for Palsgrave (Eclaircissement de la langue françoise) to have compared it with English [h] (have, hatred, hart). Half a century later, loss of the consonant (originally a provincial development, first attested in Burgundy and Berry) was growing within the non-aristocratic norm at Paris, and was beginning to infiltrate upper-class standard usage. H. Estienne (Hypomneses de Gall. lingua peregrinis eam discentibus necessariae ... , 1582) writes:

Multi perinde pronuntiant ac si scriptum esset un oqueton,

et un'aute maison, sic un'onte, un'aquenée, un'arpe ...  
 eodemque caetera modo proferunt. Et ... il m'ait pro  
il me hait.

He and his colleagues opened fire. Lists of words in which 'h aspirée' should be pronounced became a common sight. Yet the consonant's status was already so insecure that no consistent, reliable source of information could be found and applied toward the compilation of these lists. Palsgrave's early roster had included the words hamasson (hameçon) and hardillon, which now lack the h- juncture; and omitted héros, which has it.

In any case, writers -- perhaps aware of the inconsistency and arbitrariness involved in the control efforts -- regularly treated as vowel-initial even those words on which the grammarians unanimously ruled 'h aspirée':<sup>25</sup>

l'haï	l'hautbois
l'hallebarde	l'hers
l'hangar	l'heurter
l'hanissement	l'hideux
l'hardiesse	l'hobereau
l'haricot	l'honte
l'hasard	l'honteux
l'hasarder	l'huguenot
l'hausser	l'hucher
l'haut	l'humer

The battle was hopeless as far as pronunciation of the consonant was concerned. Progressively higher social levels ceased to employ it; finally, in 1673, the Académie Française -- still refusing to admit the consonant's disappearance -- was nevertheless obliged to note in its Cahiers:

Dans tous les autres mots qui ne viennent point du latin, l'h aspire fort, quoyque le mauvais usage introduit par les gens de province d'outre Loire et mesme par le peuple de Paris s'efforce de l'abolir tout à fait.

The presence or absence of h- juncture within the norm has continued to fluctuate in given lexical items; the standard rules have had to be updated regularly.

C18. [r]r > [z]s / V \_\_ V

This change is believed to have spread from central and southeastern dialects into 'vulgar Parisian'; from there into the non-aristocratic norm; and eventually into the aristocratic norm -- being heard not infrequently at the royal court. From an articulatory point of view, the merger is quite uncomplicated: an alveolar tap r, if not completely closed, produces a sound very close aurally to the homorganic voiced fricative, z.<sup>26</sup>

The development was noted by Palsgrave (Eclaircissement de la langue françoise) as early as 1530:

They of Parys sounde somtyme r lyke z, saying Pazys for Paryz, ... and suche lyke. (p. 34).

je gasouille ... The right worde after the latyn shulde be je garrouille, but the Parysyens tourne r into s, whiche betwyne two vowels hath the sounde of z. (p. 456).

Similar attestations are found in Alexander Barclay, Here begyneth the introductory to wryte and to pronounce Frenche (1521: 811); Erasme, De recta latini graecique sermonis pronunciatione (1528; Opera, 931); Geofroy Tory, Champ fleury ... (1529: 55); Jacques Sylvius (Dubois), In linguam gallicam Isagoge, una cum eiusdem latino-gallica, ex Hebreis, Graecis, et Latinis authoribus (1531: 52); Charles de Bovelles, Liber de differentia vulgarium linguarum

et Gallici sermonis varietate (1533: 36); Jean Pillot, Gallicae linguae insitutio (1550: 10); Henri Estienne, Hypomneses ... (1582: 67); Théodore de Bèze, De Franciae linguae recta pronuntiatione (1584: 37); Antoine Cauchie, Grammaticae gallicae libri tres (1586: 7); Palliot, Le vray orthographe françois (1608: 24).

Considering the wide gamut of social levels within the synecdochic dialect affected by this development, the ease and thoroughness with which it was eliminated are astonishing. One can only surmise that it never ceased to carry the brand of a 'low-class' feature; that for a substantial segment of the Parisian petit bourgeois, it never really became normal; and that its adoption into court usage was a sort of affectation, proclaiming trans-bourgeois status.<sup>27</sup>

Still, with royalty's vote cast in favor of the change, its eradication must be counted a major victory for grammarians and for written language, where the phonemic distinction had been steadfastly maintained. Grammarians' ridicule brought rapid abandonment by the upper classes -- resulting in frequent hypercorrection, which led to still more merciless lampooning from the controllers. In his Epistre du biau fys de Pazys, Clément Marot assigned the courtisans such lines of dialogue as:

Madame, je vour aime tant,  
Mais ne le dicte pas pourtant;  
Les musailles ont der oseilles.

(je vous aime; les murailles ont des oreilles).

The only traces of r > z remaining in the standard language are within words that had entered many years previously, through

the vernacular channel. Besicles (first attested 1328) ousted bericles (original meaning: 'eyeglasses made of beryl'); chaise (1380) became the unmarked term for a 'chair', while the original chaire was relegated to specialized senses.<sup>28</sup> It should be noted, however, that the backward articulatory movement of [r] -- without loss of its phonemic distinctiveness -- was to continue until the present velar pronunciation was reached. The objection to r > z in the sixteenth century was not primarily aesthetic, or even didactic; it was the phonemic merger that simply could not be tolerated.

CRITERIA: extra-normal: purism, aesthetics

C19. avez-vous > a-vous (a'vous, avous)

This contraction appears to have become quite commonly employed;<sup>29</sup> attestations are numerous. In Ronsard's Amours (1552: Book 1, Sonnet 31) we find:

Dictes courriers (ainsi ne vous enserre  
 Quelque sorcier dans un cerne de feu)  
 Rasant noz champz, dictes, avous point veu  
 Ceste beaulté qui tant me fait de guerre?

Other examples occur in his Gayetez. The origins of this change are not recorded, but it seems unlikely to have developed within the standard dialect. It provided, therefore, an easy target for grammarians.

But here a surprise entered -- Marc-Antoine Muret, discussing the verse cited above in his Commentaire on Ronsard, legislated in favor of the change and proposed its general adoption in standard usage. He admired its elegant efficiency, and invoked a classical

precedent: 'Comme les Latins disent sis pour sivis, ainsi le François a-vous pour avez-vous.' His enthusiasm also extended to sca-vous (savez-vous), a form not attested outside his Com-mentaire.

The other grammarians carried the day; a-vous never achieved full normality within the standard dialect.

CRITERIA: normal: aristocratic, non-aristocratic  
extra-normal: purism

#### C20. Double comparatives

Constructions such as plus hauçor ('more higher'; Vie de Saint Alexis) are not rare in Old French. And in the spoken usage of today -- as also in the sixteenth century -- double comparatives such as plus meilleur and plus pire (and the corresponding superlatives, le plus meilleur, le plus pire) are heard with moderate frequency. But through the application of logic, grammarians of the 1500s succeeded in eliminating such 'barbarisms' from the standard dialect.<sup>30</sup>

As with C19, a lone voice was raised in dissent, and a classical model cited. H. Estienne saw in plus meilleur one of numerous resemblances between French and the high model language Greek, with its constructions of the type βελτίων μάλλον (Traicté de la conformité du language [sic] françois avec le grec, 1565, 2nd ed. 1569). In Plautus, too, one could find examples such as magis maior. But the forces of logic were heeded.

CRITERION: extra-normal: logic

C21. Pieça

During the later Middle French period, a number of adverbs attested from the earliest Old French were being replaced in the norm by regular processes of linguistic change: davant gave way to avant; ja to déjà and jamais; meshuy to désormais; moult to beaucoup; onques to jamais. Generally, the doomed element went through two phases of eradication: in the first, the element was recognized as non-standard but still widespread in the norm, and anyone caught using it was held to be ignorant, rustic, or low-class; in the second, the element had become rare or died out from the norm, and any user was likely to be charged with pedantry.

Pieça ('long ago') was well-established in Old French. Yet despite its age, grammarians of the late sixteenth century (and perhaps other users of the language as well) were conscious of its composition -- it represented a blatantly low-class phonetic development of an equally low-class expression: pieça < pièce a < pièce y a < pièce il y a ~ il y a une pièce (i.e., 'il y a long-temps').

Evidence indicates that pieça was not among the adverbs losing vitality within the Middle French norm. Had it been, grammarians of the time would not have needed to be so vociferous in condemning it.<sup>31</sup> Once again, as with C20, H. Estienne (Traicté de la conformité ... ) arose in a solitary protest, reminding his contemporaries of the word's efficiency and, more importantly, its credentials.

But the connotation of lower-class origin could not be overcome. By the mid-seventeenth century, pieça had clearly crossed

over to the second phase of eradication, in which it had ceased to be normal. In a letter dated 9 August, 1644, Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac ridicules

le vieux poète de l'Université, [qui refuse] de changer ci pour celui, quand bien même la mesure du vers le lui eût permis. Il tenait bon pour pieça, pour moult, et pour ancois, contre les autres adverbes, à ce qu'il disait, plus jeunes et plus efféminés.

In typically inconsistent fashion, the controllers never latched onto pieça's exact semantic opposite and etymological parallel: naguère (< n a guère < n y a guère < il n'y a guère, 'a little while ago'). Though equally 'low-class' in origin, it remains part of Standard French to the present day.

CRITERION: extra-normal: connotation

#### 9.5. From control to classicism

By the last two decades of the century, the Pléiade and their fellow forces of elaboration had accomplished their original goal: the French language was felt to be 'eloquent' enough for its new range of functions and community of users. As in the standardization of any language, the quest for eloquence -- conducted with efficiency as a tempering, but secondary, criterion -- ultimately yielded a dialect with an excess of borrowed words and possible syntactic variants. Along with the need for elaboration decreased the desire to bring it about; and simultaneously a new movement arose, with efficiency as the main target. Control was now the order of the day.

In the very final year of the century, 1600, a decisive event

occurred: the royal court left Touraine and the banks of the Loire, and took up residence at Paris. Over the next few years, France's writers and men of letters, heretofore scattered across the various provinces, followed the court to the capital. Concomitant with the control movement, the epoch of centralization was underway.

Upper-class Parisian usage and court usage, now in close contact, each shed many idiosyncrasies and drew nearer to the other. Any earlier rivalries within the synecdochic dialect were dispelled, and Standard French emerged more clearly defined than ever. Furthermore, one poet and grammarian, Malherbe, rose quickly to an authoritarian position far stronger than that of any of his predecessors. Propelled on the crest of the control wave, he attained the power to provide his own definition of standard usage in a large number of cases where doubt was still expressed.

All of these factors sufficed to usher in an age of classicism -- which, the reader may agree, can be understood as a natural, inevitable sequel to the era that had preceded.

Between the late 1400s and the early 1600s, then, a veritable 'restandardization' of français né francien had been accomplished. If we turn back to the list of motives for restandardization given at the beginning of this chapter, we may note, point by point, the changes that had come to pass in this situation between the opening and close of the century under study:

1. The Ordonnance of Villers-Cotterets made the position of French as national language immeasurably stronger. Also, France acquired Brittany in 1532, Lorraine in 1559.

2. In 1578, a chair in French was instituted at the University of Wittemberg.
3. The language achieved 'eloquence'.
4. Mission accomplished.
5. See the preceding page.
6. All rivals were effectively conquered.
7. The two primary norms ultimately merged; see the preceding page.
8. No appreciable change.
9. Position of Italian greatly strengthened with rise of Catherine de Médicis.
10. See above: E5, E6, E7, E9, E10, E11, E12, E13, E14, E15, C16, C15a.
- 11-12. Grew steadily.
13. French became a regular vehicle of all prose, poetical, and theatrical genres, regardless of subject matter.
14. Palsgrave, 1530, for Englishmen; Pillot, 1550, for Germans.
15. Meigret, 1550.
16. Change from phonological to largely etymological writing system.
17. The importance of the written channel in the life of the standard dialect grew considerably.
18. Grew steadily.
- 19-20. Outlined above.
21. No consensus was ever attained in these areas. Each controller seemed to have his own conception of the criteria.
22. At the end, strong desire to dissociate from lower-class and especially provincial dialects -- which had not been so spurned earlier in the century.
23. Hence restandardization.
24. 1500-1580: more. 1580-18th c.: less.
25. Belief in the absolute standard blossomed with the rise of its high priest, Malherbe, and continued to grow under his successor, Vaugelas.

As I said at the outset, one result of restandardization can be a

change in the language's identity and even its name. This did not fail to occur in the present case. It is with the elaboration and control of the sixteenth century that the breach between 'Middle French' and 'Modern French' is defined.

Notes to Chapter 9

<sup>1</sup>The social and historical data are taken primarily from Brunot 1966; Brunot and Bruneau 1949; M. Cohen 1947; François 1959; Guiraud 1966; Rickard 1974.

<sup>2</sup>See further François 1959: 121-129.

<sup>3</sup>In 1560, she took control of the nation as regent during the minority of her son, Charles II.

<sup>4</sup>Information concerning these changes -- other than that cited directly from primary sources -- was culled principally from the following works: Bloch and Wartburg 1968; Brunot 1966; Brunot and Bruneau 1949; Damourette and Pichon 1911-40; Darmesteter and Hatzfeld 1889; Fouché 1952-69 and 1967; François 1959; Hatzfeld and Darmesteter 1964; Huguet 1925-67; Littré 1961-62; Robert 1966 and 1978; Thurot 1881.

<sup>5</sup>The labelling system employed in this chapter operates as follows: the elaborations under examination are listed as E1 to E15. The control decisions regarding each of them is numbered correspondingly -- C1 to C15; if no control measures were taken, the numeral will be preceded not by C, but by (Non-C). In one instance, two separate control mechanisms are put to work against a single elaboration; they are listed as C15a and C15b. Finally, the descriptions of control decisions concerned with non-elaborative elements commence from C16 and continue through C21.

<sup>6</sup>Thurot 1881: 1.3-4. Attestations of this change date to the early fourteenth century: the Chronique attributed to Geofroi de Paris (closing date 1316) rhymes Navarre with terre (v. 4735-6, and elsewhere). Similar rhymes are found in Villon.

<sup>7</sup>See Fouché 1952-69: 348-350.

<sup>8</sup>Darmesteter and Hatzfeld 1889: 203.

<sup>9</sup>Thurot 1881: 1.250.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Fouché 1952-69: 603.

<sup>11</sup>Darmesteter and Hatzfeld 1889: 268.

<sup>12</sup>See Brunot and Bruneau 1949: 384.

- <sup>13</sup>Cf. Brunot and Bruneau 1949: 542.
- <sup>14</sup>See Meunier 1857: 99-100.
- <sup>15</sup>See Brunot 1966: 1.569-570.
- <sup>16</sup>Cf. Brunot and Bruneau 1949: 484-485.
- <sup>17</sup>That /s/ and /z/ were and are distinct phonemes is shown by pairs such as leçon/lisons [lɛsɔ̃]/[lizɔ̃].
- <sup>18</sup>The encomium is that of Brunot and Bruneau 1949: xiii.
- <sup>19</sup>Brunot and Bruneau 1949: xiii.
- <sup>20</sup>Brunot and Bruneau 1949: xiii.
- <sup>21</sup>Much has been made of the fact that one of the most prominent of twentieth-century grammarians, Grevisse, was a Belgian.
- <sup>22</sup>Thurot 1881: 1.242.
- <sup>23</sup>Darmesteter and Hatzfeld (1889: 229) take issue with Estienne Pasquier, who, commenting on the sonnet in his correspondence (vol. 22, no. 2), declared that Baïf was a frequent offender in this regard. Finding no examples of such formations in Baïf's surviving writings, Darmesteter and Hatzfeld speculate that the poem may have been a simple badinage, meant not to mock Baïf, but to poke fun at the pretentiousness of the likes of Péletier (see under E6).
- <sup>24</sup>Brunot and Bruneau 1949: 542.
- <sup>25</sup>Thurot 1881: 2.391-419.
- <sup>26</sup>Fouché 1952-69: 603-605.
- <sup>27</sup>Similarly, certain members of modern-day Britain's highest social classes affect a pronunciation [in] of the suffix -ing -- this form being associated with the lower social strata and carefully avoided by those in the middle.
- <sup>28</sup>A third example cited by Fouché (1952-69: 604), nasiller (<\*nariculare) is traced by other etymologists to an analogical formation from nasal.
- <sup>29</sup>Darmesteter and Hatzfeld 1889: 241.
- <sup>30</sup>Cf. Brunot and Bruneau 1949: 206.
- <sup>31</sup>Cf. Darmesteter and Hatzfeld 1889: 281.

#### REFERENCES

- Abercrombie, L. 1931. Colloquial language in literature. Oxford.
- Académie Française, Paris. 1932-35. Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française. 8th ed. 2 vols. Paris.
- Agard, F.B. 1971. Language and dialect: some tentative postulates. *Linguistics* 65.5-24.
- Alexandre, P. 1968. Some linguistic problems of nation-building in Negro Africa. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 119-127.
- Alisjahbana, S.T. 1976. Language planning for modernization: the case of Indonesian and Malaysian. The Hague, Paris.
- Allen, W.S. 1953. Phonetics in ancient India. London.
- Ansre, G. 1970. Language standardisation in sub-Saharan Africa. *Current Trends in Linguistics* 7.680-698.
- Anttila, R. 1972. An introduction to historical and comparative linguistics. New York.
- Armstrong, R.G. 1968. Language policies and language practices in West Africa. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 227-236.
- Auty, R. 1958. Some thoughts on the history of literary languages. *Cercatări de Lingvistica* 3, supplement: *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Emil Petrovici*. Pp. 45-51.
- Bailey, B. 1964. Some problems involved in the language teaching situation in Jamaica. In Shuy (ed.) 1964: 105-111.
- Baudin, L. 1928. *L'Empire socialiste des Inka*. Paris.
- Baudouin de Courtenay, J. 1901. O smešannom xaraktere vsech jazykov. *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosvěšeni ja* (Soviet ed.) 1.362-372.
- Beeston, A.F.L. 1970. *The Arabic language today*. London.
- Bell, R.T. 1976. *Sociolinguistics: goals, approaches, and problems*. London.

- Benkó, L., and S. Imre (eds.). 1972. The Hungarian language. The Hague, Paris, Budapest.
- Bernstein, B. 1966. Elaborated and restricted codes: an outline. *Sociological Inquiry* 36.2.254-261.
- . 1974. *Class, codes and control. Vol. 1: Theoretical studies toward a sociology of language.* 2nd, rev. ed. London.
- Berruto, G. 1971. Per una semiologia dei rapporti tra lingua e dialetto. *Parole e metodi* 1.45-58.
- Bescherelle, L.N. 1847-48. *Dictionnaire national ou dictionnaire universel de la langue française.* 2 vols. Paris.
- Blackall, E.A. 1978. *The emergence of German as a literary language, 1770-1775.* 2nd ed. Ithaca, London.
- Blanc, H. 1968. The Israeli koine as an emergent national standard. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 237-251.
- Blatt, F. 1957a. Latin influence on European syntax. *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Copenhague* 11.33-69.
- . 1957b. Influence latine sur la syntaxe européenne. *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Copenhague* 11.223-235.
- Bloch, B. 1948. A set of postulates for phonemic analysis. *Language* 24.3-46.
- Bloch, C., and W. von Wartburg. 1968. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française.* 5th ed. Paris.
- Blondé, J. 1979. La situation du français au Mali. In Valdman (ed.) 1979: 377-383.
- Bloomfield, L. 1927. Literate and illiterate speech. *American Speech* 2.432-439.
- . 1939. *Linguistic aspects of science.* Chicago.
- Bolinger, D. 1975. *Aspects of language.* 2nd ed. New York.
- Brakel, C.A. 1978. Language structure and social structure. *Michigan Academician* 9.2.157-163.
- Browning, R. 1969. *Medieval and Modern Greek.* London.
- Brunot, F. 1966. *Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900.* 2nd ed. 13 vols. Paris.

- , and C. Bruneau. 1949. *Précis de grammaire historique de la langue française*. 3rd ed. Paris.
- Bursill-Hall, G.L. 1972. *Grammatica speculativa of Thomas of Erfurt*. Ed. with tr. and commentary by G.L. Bursill-Hall. London.
- Bury, J.B., and R. Meiggs. 1975. *A history of Greece to the death of Alexander the Great*. 4th ed. New York.
- Bynon, T. 1977. *Historical linguistics*. Cambridge.
- Byron, J. 1976. *Selection among alternatives in language standardization: the case of Albanian*. The Hague, Paris.
- Caliri, F. (ed.) 1973. *M. Cesarotti: Saggio sulla filosofia della lingue (e altri scritti)*. Chiaravalle.
- Carlyle, T. 1836. *Sartor Resartus: the life and opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh*. Boston.
- Cary, M., and H.H. Scullard. 1975. *A history of Rome down to the reign of Constantine*. 3rd ed. New York.
- Casares, J. 1950. *Introducción a la lexicografía moderna*. Madrid.
- Cassidy, F.G. 1968. *Level and style labels*. Funk and Wagnalls standard encyclopedic college dictionary. New York. Pp. xi-xii.
- Chambers, M., R. Grew, D. Herlihy, T.K. Rabb, and I. Woloch. 1979. *The Western experience*. Vol. 1: *Antiquity to the Middle Ages*. 2nd ed. New York.
- Chang, K. 1965. *National languages*. *Current Trends in Linguistics* 2.151-176.
- Chantraine, P. 1957a. *Le grec et la structure des langues modernes de l'Occident*. *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Copenhague* 11.9-31.
- . 1957b. *Le grec. Remarques additionnelles*. *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Copenhague* 11.219-221.
- Chao, Y.R. 1968. *Language and symbolic systems*. Cambridge.
- Close, E. 1974. *The development of Modern Rumanian*. London, New York.
- Cohen, J.M. 1956. *A history of Western literature*. Harmondsworth.
- Cohen, M. 1947. *Histoire d'une langue: le français*. Paris.

- Coppel, A. 1975. La norme. In: Manuel de linguistique appliquée 4: la norme linguistique. Paris. Pp. 15-52.
- Corbeil, J.-C. 1979. Essai sur l'origine historique de la situation linguistique du Québec. In Valdman (ed.) 1979: 21-32.
- Coseriu, E. 1962. Teoría del lenguaje y lingüística general. Madrid.
- Costas, P.S. 1936. An outline of the history of the Greek language, with particular emphasis on the Koine and the subsequent periods. Chicago.
- Cureton, R.D. 1979. E.E. Cummings: a study of the poetic use of deviant morphology. *Poetics Today* 1.1-2.213-244.
- Damourette, J., and E. Pichon. 1911-40. Essai de grammaire de la langue française. 7 vols. Paris.
- Danes, F. 1969. The problems of value-judgements in the process of standardization. In Second International Congress ... Sturzo Institute 1969: 697-702.
- Darmesteter, A., and A. Hatzfeld. 1889. Le seizième siècle en France. Tableau de la littérature et de la langue. 4th ed. Paris.
- Das Gupta, J. 1968. Language diversity and national development. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 17-26.
- , and J.J. Gumperz. 1968. Language, communication and control in North India. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 151-166.
- Davidson, T. (ed. & tr.). 1874. The grammar of Dionysius Thrax. *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 1.326-339.
- DeCamp, D. 1971a. Introduction: the study of pidgin and creole languages. In Hymes (ed.) 1971: 13-39.
- . 1971b. Toward a generative analysis of a post-creole speech continuum. In Hymes (ed.) 1971: 349-370.
- Deme, L. 1972. Standard Hungarian. Tr. by I. Gombos. In Benkó<sup>"</sup> and Imre (eds.) 1972: 255-297.
- Dennett, R.E. 1906. At the back of the black man's mind; or, notes on the kingly office in West Africa. London.
- Deshpande, M. 1979. Sociolinguistic attitudes in India: a historical reconstruction. Ann Arbor.
- Devoto, G. 1957. Le sopravvivenze linguistiche latine nel mondo moderno. *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Copenhague* 11.75-88.

- Dictionnaire général de la langue française. See Hatzfeld and Darmesteter 1964.
- Diringer, D. 1968. The alphabet: a key to the history of mankind. 3rd ed. 2 vols. New York.
- Doke, C. 1931. Report on the unification of Shona dialects. Government of Southern Rhodesia.
- Dumas, B.K., and J. Lighter. 1978. Is slang a word for linguists? American Speech 53.5-17.
- Dupré, P. 1972. Encyclopédie du bon français dans l'usage contemporain; difficultés, subtilités, complexités, singularités. 3 vols. Paris.
- Dykema, K.W. 1961. Where our grammar came from. College English 22. 455-465.
- Elcock, W.D. 1975. The Romance languages. Rev. ed. London.
- Elias, N. 1969. Über den Prozess der Zivilisation: soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen. 2nd ed. 2 vols. München.
- Entwistle, W.J. 1962. The Spanish language, together with Portuguese, Catalan, and Basque. 2nd ed. London.
- Evans, B., and C. Evans. 1957. A dictionary of contemporary American usage. New York.
- Fellman, J. 1973. The revival of a classical tongue: Eliezer Ben Yehuda and the modern Hebrew language. The Hague, Paris.
- Ferguson, C.A. 1959. Diglossia. Word 15.324-340.
- . 1964. Teaching standard languages to dialect speakers. In Shuy (ed.) 1964: 112-117.
- . 1968a. Language development. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 27-35.
- . 1968b. St Stefan of Perm and applied linguistics. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 253-265.
- , and C.E. DeBose. 1977. Simplified registers, broken language, and pidginization. In Valdman (ed.) 1977: 99-125.
- , and J.J. Gumperz. 1960. Introduction to Ferguson and Gumperz (eds.) 1960.. Pp. 1-18.
- , and J.J. Gumperz (eds.). 1960. Linguistic diversity in South Asia: studies in regional, social and functional variation. Publication 13 of the Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology,

Folklore, and Linguistics. Also Part 3 of the International Journal of American Linguistics 26.3.

- Fishman, J.A. 1968a. Sociolinguistics and the language problems of developing countries. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 3-16.
- . 1968b. Nationality-nationalism and nation-nationism. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 39-51.
- . 1968c. Some contrasts between linguistically homogeneous and linguistically heterogeneous polities. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 53-68.
- . 1968d. Language problems and types of political and sociocultural integration: a conceptual postscript. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 491-498.
- . 1972. Historical dimensions in the sociology of language. In Shuy (ed.) 1972: 145-155.
- (ed.). 1968. Readings in the sociology of language. The Hague, Paris.
- , C.A. Ferguson, and J. Das Gupta (eds.). 1968. Language problems of developing nations. New York.
- Follett, W. 1966. Modern American usage: a guide. Ed. and completed by J. Barzun, in collaboration with C. Baker, F.W. Dupee, D. Fitts, J.D. Hart, P. McGinley, and L. Trilling. New York.
- Fouché, P. 1952-69. Phonétique historique du français. 3 vols. Vols. 2-3 2nd ed. Paris.
- . 1967. Le verbe français. 2nd ed. Paris.
- Fought, J. 1979. The 'medieval sibilants' of the Eulalia-Ludwigslied manuscript and their development in early Old French. Language 55.842-858.
- Fowler, H.W. 1965. A dictionary of modern English usage. 2nd ed., rev. by E. Gowers. London.
- François, A. 1959. Histoire de la langue française cultivée. 2 vols. Genève.
- Franolic, B. 1972. La langue littéraire croate: aperçu historique. Paris.
- Friedlander, P. 1944. The Greek behind Latin. Classical Journal 39.270-277.
- Friedrich-Leipzig, J. 1937. Schriftgeschichtliche Betrachtungen. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 91.319-342.

- Gagné, G. 1979. Quelques aspects 'socio-linguistiques' du français au Canada et au Québec. In Valdman (ed.) 1979: 33-59.
- Galli de' Paratesi, N. 1977. La standardizzazione della pronuncia nell'italiano contemporaneo. In Simone and Ruggiero (eds.) 1977: 167-195.
- Gandhi, M.K. 1956. Thoughts on national language. Ahmedabad.
- Garvin, P.L., and M. Mathiot. 1956. The urbanization of the Guaraní language: a problem in language and culture. In Wallace (ed.) 1956: 783-790.
- (ed. and tr.). 1958. A Prague School reader in esthetics, literary structure, and style. Rev. ed. Washington, D.C.
- Gelb, I.J. 1963. A study of writing. Rev. ed. Chicago.
- Giammarco, E. 1976. Incontro tra lingua e dialetto. In Pisani and Santoro (eds.) 1976: 1.495-511.
- Gorman, T.P. 1971. Socio-linguistic implications of a choice of media of instruction. In Whiteley (ed.) 1971: 198-220.
- Grand Larousse de la langue française. See Guilbert et al. (eds.) 1971.
- Greenberg, J.H. 1966. Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements. Rev. ed. In Greenberg (ed.) 1966: 73-113.
- (ed.). 1966. Universals of language. 2nd ed. Cambridge, Mass., London.
- Grevisse, M. 1975. Le bon usage: grammaire française avec des remarques sur la langue française d'aujourd'hui. 10th ed. Gembloux.
- Griaule, M., and G. Dieterlen. 1951. Signes graphiques soudanais. L'Homme. Cahiers d'Ethnologie, de Géographie et de Linguistique 3. Paris.
- Groenke, U. 1966. On standard, substandard, and slang in Icelandic. Scandinavian Studies 38.217-230.
- Gross, M. 1979. On the failure of generative grammar. Language 55.859-885.
- Guilbert, L., R. Lagane, and G. Niobey (eds.). 1971. Grand Larousse de la langue française. 6 vols. Paris.
- Guiraud, P. 1966. Le moyen français. 2nd ed. Paris.

- Guitarte, G.L., and R.T. Quintero. 1967. Linguistic correctness and the role of the academies. *Current Trends in Linguistics* 4:562-604.
- Gukhman (Guxman), M.M. 1960. *Voprosy formirovani ja i razvitija nacional'nyx jazykov*. Moscow.
- . 1964. Problems of the formation and development of national languages. Introduction and conclusion. Intro. tr. by A. Piertrzyk, concl. tr. by P. Dorff, from Gukhman 1960. Washington, D.C.
- Haas, W. (ed.). 1976. *Writing without letters*. Manchester, Totowa, N.J.
- Hall, R.A., Jr. 1942. *The Italian questione della lingua: an interpretative essay*. Chapel Hill.
- . 1972. Pidgins and creoles as standard languages. In Pride and Holmes (eds.) 1972: 142-153.
- Harries, L. 1968. Swahili in modern East Africa. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 415-429.
- Hatzfeld, A., and A. Darmesteter. 1964. *Dictionnaire général de la langue française. Avec le concours de A. Thomas. Réimpression intégrale*. 2 vols. Paris.
- Haugen, E. 1962. Schizoglossia and the linguistic norm. *Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics* 15: 63-69.
- . 1966a. Language conflict and language planning: the case of Modern Norwegian. Cambridge, Mass.
- . 1966b. Dialect, language, nation. *American Anthropologist* 68:922-935.
- . 1968. The Scandinavian languages as cultural artifacts. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 267-284.
- . 1976. *The Scandinavian languages: an introduction to their history*. London, Cambridge, Mass.
- Havránek, B. 1929. Influence de la fonction de la langue littéraire sur la structure phonologique et grammaticale du tchèque littéraire. *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* 1:106-120.
- . 1932. Úkoly spisovného jazyka a jeho kultura. In Havránek and Weingart (eds.) 1932: 41-70. (See also Havránek 1958).
- . 1938. Zum Problem der Norm in der heutigen Sprachwissenschaft und Sprachkultur. *Actes du 4<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Linguistes*. Copenhagen. Pp. 151-156.

- . 1958. The functional differentiation of the standard language. (Translation of a portion of Havránek 1932). In Garvin (ed. and tr.) 1958: 3-16.
- , and M. Weingart (eds.). 1932. Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura. Prague.
- Hayakawa, S.I. 1972. Language in thought and action. 3rd ed., in consultation with A.A. Berger and A. Chandler. New York.
- Henzen, W. 1954. Schriftsprache und Mundarten. 2nd ed. Zurich, Leipzig.
- Huguet, E. 1925-67. Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle. 7 vols. Paris.
- Hyder, M. 1966. Swahili in a technical age. In: East Africa's cultural heritage. Nairobi.
- Hymes, D. (ed.). 1971. Pidginization and creolization of languages. Proceedings of a conference held at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica, April 1968. Cambridge.
- Jensen, H. 1969. Die Schrift in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. 3rd ed. Berlin.
- Jespersen, O. 1925. Mankind, nation, and individual from a linguistic point of view. Cambridge, Mass.
- John, K.K. (no date). The only solution to India's language problem. New Delhi.
- Jones, R.F. 1953. The triumph of the English language. Stanford.
- Joos, M. 1962. The five clocks. Publication 22 of the Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics. Also Part 5 of the International Journal of American Linguistics 28.2.
- Joseph, J.E. 1980. Linguistic classification in Italy: problems and predictions. Language Problems and Language Planning 4.131-140.
- Kahane, H., and R. Kahane. 1979. Decline and survival of Western prestige languages. Language 55.183-198.
- Keil, H. (ed.). 1857-80. Grammatici latini ex recensione Henrici Keilii. 7 vols. and supplement. Lipsiae.
- Keller, R.E. 1961. German dialects: phonology and morphology, with selected texts. Manchester.

- . 1978. The German language. London, Boston, New Jersey.
- Kelsey, H.P., and W.A. Dayton. 1942. Standardized plant names. 2nd ed. Harrisburg, Pa.
- Kirk, G.E. 1964. A short history of the Middle East from the rise of Islam to modern times. 7th ed. New York, Washington.
- Kirk-Greene, A.H.M. 1964. The Hausa Language Board. Afrika und Übersee 47.188.
- Kloss, H. 1967. 'Abstand' languages and 'Ausbau' languages. Anthropological Linguistics 9.7.29-41.
- . 1968. Notes concerning a language-nation typology. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 69-85.
- . 1978. Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen seit 1800. 2nd ed. Düsseldorf.
- Knorozov, I.V. 1955. Sistema pis'ma drevnikh maiia. La escritura de los antiguos mayas. (In Russian and Spanish). Moscow.
- Kratochvíl, P. 1968. The Chinese language today: features of an emerging standard. London.
- Kroeber, A.L. 1962. A roster of civilizations and cultures. Chicago.
- Kuhn, A. 1956. Schriftsprache und Dialekt. Cultura neolatina 16.1.35-51.
- Lehmann-Haupt, C.F. 1919. Zur Herkunft des Alphabets. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 73.51-79.
- Leonard, C.S., Jr. 1978. Umlaut in Romance: an essay in linguistic archaeology. Grossen-Linden.
- Le Page, R.B. 1964. The national language question: linguistic problems of newly independent states. London, New York.
- . 1968. Problems to be faced in the use of English as the medium of education in four West Indian territories. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 431-442.
- Levin, S.R. 1964. Poetry and grammaticalness. In Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Linguists, H. Lunt, ed. The Hague, Paris. Pp. 308-314.
- Littré, E. 1961-62. Dictionnaire de la langue française. Edition intégrale. 7 vols. Paris.

- Lundell, J.A. 1938. Caractère d'une langue nationale. (Résumé). Actes du 4<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Linguistes. Copenhagen. P. 48.
- Mallery, G. 1886. Pictographs of the North American Indians. A preliminary paper. Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution. Washington, D.C.
- . 1893. Picture-writing of the American Indians. Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution. Washington, D.C.
- Malone, K. 1958. Ain't. Inside the ACD 11.1.1.3. New York.
- Marconcini, C. 1952. L'Accademia della Crusca. Florence.
- Marouzeau, J. 1949. Quelques aspects de la formation du latin littéraire. Paris.
- Martinet, A. 1954. Dialect. Romance Philology 8.1-11.
- . 1970. Economie des changements phonétiques. 3rd ed. Bern.
- Maw, J. 1971. Socio-linguistic problems and potentialities of education through a foreign language. In Whiteley (ed.) 1971: 221-233.
- Mazrui, A.A. 1968. Some sociopolitical functions of English literature in Africa. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 183-197.
- . 1974. World culture and the black experience. Seattle, London.
- . 1976. A world federation of cultures: an African perspective. New York.
- Meillet, A. 1965. Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque. 7th ed. Paris.
- Meinhof, C. 1911. Zur Entstehung der Schrift. Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache 49.1-14.
- Meunier, F. 1857. Essai sur la vie et les ouvrages de Nicole Oresme. Paris.
- Migliorini, B. 1960. Storia della lingua italiana. 2nd ed. Florence.
- . 1963. Lingua e dialetti. Lingua Nostra 24.81-87.
- . 1966. The Italian language. Abridged and recast by T.G. Griffith. London.
- Mirambel, A. 1964. Les aspects psychologiques du purisme dans la Grèce moderne. Journal de Psychologie. Pp. 405-436.

- Morris, W., and M. Morris. 1975. Harper dictionary of contemporary usage. With the assistance of a panel of 136 distinguished consultants on usage. New York.
- Mukařovský, J. 1932. Jazyk spisovný a jazyk básniký. In Havránek and Weingart (eds.) 1932: 123-156. (See also Mukařovský 1958).
- . 1958. Standard language and poetic language. (Translation of Mukařovský 1932: 123-149). In Garvin (ed. and tr.) 1958: 17-30.
- Murray, J.A.H., H. Bradley, W.A. Craigie, and C.T. Onions (eds.). 1933. The Oxford English dictionary. Corrected re-issue. 12 vols. and supplement. Oxford.
- Murray, K.M.E. 1977. Caught in the web of words: James A.H. Murray and the Oxford English Dictionary. New Haven, London.
- Nader, L. 1962. A note on attitudes and the use of language. Anthropological Linguistics 4.6.24-29.
- Nestupný, J.V. 1968. Some general aspects of 'language' problems and 'language' policy in developing societies. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 285-294.
- Newman, E. 1974. Strictly speaking: will America be the death of English? Indianapolis.
- . 1976. A civil tongue. Indianapolis.
- Nicholson, M. 1957. A dictionary of American-English usage, based on Fowler's Modern English usage. New York.
- Nida, E.A., and W.L. Wonderly. 1971. Communication roles of languages in multilingual societies. In Whiteley (ed.) 1971: 57-74.
- Nordenskiöld, E. 1928. Picture-writings and other documents by Nélé and Ruben Pérez Kantule. Göteborg.
- Nykrog, P. 1957. L'influence latine savante sur la syntaxe du français. Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Copenhague 11.89-114.
- Ogden, C.K. 1934. The system of Basic English. New York.
- Ott, K.A. 1962. La notion du 'Bon usage' dans les Remarques de Vaugelas. Cahiers de l'Association des Etudes Françaises 14.79-94.
- Oxford English Dictionary. See J. Murray et al. (eds.) 1933.
- Paden, J.N. 1968. Language problems of national integration in Nigeria: the special position of Hausa. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 199-213.

- Palmer, L.R. 1954. *The Latin language*. London.
- Passin, H. 1968. *Writer and journalist in the transitional society*.  
In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 443-457.
- Perry, J. 1955. *The story of standards*. New York.
- Pisani, V., and C. Santoro (eds.). 1976. *Italia linguistica nuova ed antica. Studi linguistici in memoria di Oronzo Parlangèli*.  
2 vols. Galatina.
- Polomé, E. 1968. *The choice of official languages in the Democratic Republic of the Congo*. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 295-311.
- Pompilus, P. 1979. *La langue française en Haïti*. In Valdman (ed.)  
1979: 119-143.
- Pride, J.B., and J. Holmes (eds.). 1972. *Sociolinguistics: selected readings*. Harmondsworth.
- Pulgram, E. 1952. *Don't leave your language alone!* *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 38.423-430.
- . 1954. *Theory of names*. *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 5.2.149-196.
- . 1958. *The tongues of Italy*. Cambridge, Mass.
- . 1964. *Structural comparison, diasystems, and dialectology*.  
*Linguistics* 4.66-82.
- . 1965. *The accentuation of Greek loans in Spoken and Written Latin*. *American Journal of Philology* 86.138-158.
- . 1975. *Latin-Romance phonology: prosodics and metrics*. München.
- . 1976. *The typologies of writing systems*. In Haas (ed.) 1976: 1-28.
- Ray, P.S. 1962. *Language standardization*. In Rice (ed.) 1962: 91-104.
- . 1963. *Language standardization*. The Hague.
- Ribeiro, D. 1968. *The civilizational process*. Tr. and with a foreword  
by B.J. Meggers. Washington, D.C.
- Rice, F.A. (ed.). 1962. *Study of the role of second languages in Asia, Africa, and Latin America*. Washington, D.C.
- Richards, I.A. 1943. *Basic English and its uses*. New York.
- Rickard, P. 1974. *A history of the French language*. London.

- Robert, P. 1966. Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française. (Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie Française). 6 vols. Paris.
- . 1978. Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française. (Petit Robert). Nouvelle ed., rédaction dirigée par A. Rey et J. Rey-Debove. Paris.
- Robertson, D.M. 1910. A history of the French Academy. London.
- Robins, R.H. 1951. Ancient and medieval grammatical theory in Europe with particular reference to modern linguistic doctrine. London.
- . 1957. Dionysius Thrax and the western grammatical tradition. Transactions of the Philological Society, pp. 67-106.
- . 1964. Ancient grammarians and modern linguistics. Didaskalos 1.81-89.
- . 1966. The development of the word class system of the European grammatical tradition. Foundations of Language 2.3-19.
- Robson, C.A. 1955. Literary language, spoken dialect and the phonological problem in Old French. Transactions of the Philological Society, pp. 117-180.
- Rohlfs, G. 1969. Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. Vol. 3: Sintassi e formazione delle parole. 2nd, rev. ed., tr. by T. Franceschi and M.C. Fancelli. Turin.
- Romera-Navarro, M. 1929. La defensa de la lengua española en el siglo XVI. Bulletin Hispanique 31.204-255.
- Rona, J.P. 1973. Normas locales, regionales, nacionales y universales en la América española. Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica 22.310-321.
- Rosetti, A. 1973. Brève histoire de la langue roumaine dès origines à nos jours. The Hague, Paris.
- Rustow, D. 1968. Language, modernization and nationhood -- an attempt at typology. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 87-105.
- Sagan, C. 1977. The dragons of Eden: speculations on the evolution of human intelligence. New York.
- Said, E.W. 1978. Orientalism. New York.
- Saukkonen, P. 1977. Spoken and written language. Folia Linguistica 11.207-215.

- de Saussure, F. 1973. Cours de linguistique générale. Publié par C. Bally et A. Sechehaye, avec la collaboration de A. Reidlinger. Edition critique préparée par T. de Mauro. Paris.
- Sauvageot, A. 1973. L'élaboration de la langue finnoise. Paris.
- Scaglione, A.D. 1970. Ars grammatica. The Hague, Paris.
- Schneider, R., and G. Uhlig (eds.). 1878. Apollonii Dyscoli quae supersunt recensuerunt apparatus criticum commentarium indices adiecerunt R. Schneider et G. Uhlig. 2 vols. Lipsiae.
- Schütz, A.J. 1972. The languages of Fiji. London.
- Second International Congress of Social Sciences of the Luigi Sturzo Institute. 1969. International Days of Sociolinguistics (Rome, Sept. 15-17, 1969). Rome.
- Seshadri, T.K. 1965. The language question? (an historical analysis). Bangalore.
- Shaffer, D. 1978. Afrikaans as a case study in vernacular elevation and standardization. *Linguistics* 213.51-64.
- Shuy, R.W. (ed.). 1964. Social dialects and language learning. Proceedings of the Bloomington, Ind. conference. Champaign, Ill.
- (ed.). 1972. Sociolinguistics; current trends and prospects. Report of the 23rd Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies. Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics 25. Washington, D.C.
- Simone, R., and G. Ruggiero (eds.). 1977. Aspetti sociolinguistici dell'Italia contemporanea. Atti dell'VIII Congresso Internazionale di Studi, Bressanone, May 31-June 2, 1974. 2 vols. Rome.
- Sivan, R. 1961. The neologisms of Ben Yehuda according to his dictionary. *Leshonenu La-Am* 12.37-77.
- Skautrup, P. 1947. Det danske sprogs historie. Vol. 2. Copenhagen.
- Sommerfelt, A. 1938. Conditions de la formation d'une langue commune. Actes du 4<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Linguistes. Copenhagen. Pp. 42-48.
- . 1957. Some notes on the influence of Latin on the insular Celtic languages. *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Copenhague* 11.157-162.
- Sørensen, K. 1957. Latin influence on English syntax. A survey with a bibliography. *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Copenhague* 11.131-155.

- Steiner, G. 1975. *After Babel: aspects of language and translation*. London.
- Stewart, W.A. 1968. A sociolinguistic typology for describing national multilingualism. In Fishman (ed.) 1968: 531-545.
- Stubbs, M. 1980. *Language and literacy; the sociolinguistics of reading and writing*. London, Boston.
- Stussi, A. 1972. *Lingua, dialetto e letteratura*. In R. Romano and C. Vivanti (eds.). 1972. *Storia d'Italia, vol. 1: i caratteri originali*. Pp. 677-728. Turin.
- Tabouret-Keller, A. 1968. Sociological factors of language maintenance and language shift: a methodological approach based on European and African examples. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 107-118.
- Tauli, V. 1968. *Introduction to a theory of language planning*. Uppsala.
- Terracini, B. 1956. *Analisi del concetto di lingua letteraria*. *Cultura Neolatina* 16.1.9-31.
- Thurot, C. 1881. *La prononciation française depuis le commencement du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les témoignages des grammairiens*. 2 vols. Paris.
- Toynbee, A.J. 1935. *A study of history*. Vols. 1-3, 2nd ed. London, New York, Toronto.
- . 1972. *A study of history*. New ed., rev. and abridged by the author and J. Caplan. London.
- Triantaphyllidēs, M. 1938. *Neoellēnikē grammatikē*. Athens.
- Trudgill, P. 1974. *Sociolinguistics: an introduction*. Harmondsworth.
- Uhlig, G. (ed.). 1883. *Dionysii Thracis Ars grammatica qualem exemplaria vetustissima exhibent ... Lipsiae*.
- Vachek, J. 1948. *Written language and printed language*. *Recueil Linguistique de Bratislava* 1.67-75.
- Valdman, A. 1968. Language standardization in a diglossia situation: Haiti. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 313-326.
- (ed.). 1977. *Pidgin and creole linguistics*. Bloomington, London.
- (ed.). 1979. *Le français hors de France*. Avec la collaboration de R. Chaudenson et G. Manessy. Paris.

- Vendryes, J. 1921. *Le langage: introduction linguistique à l'histoire*. Paris.
- Voegelin, C.F., and Z.S. Harris. 1951. Methods for determining intelligibility among dialects of natural languages. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 95.322-329.
- Wallace, A.F.C. (ed.). 1956. *Men and cultures; selected papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*. Philadelphia.
- Ward, I.C. 1941. *Ibo dialects and the development of a common language*. Cambridge.
- Webster's Third new international dictionary of the English language, unabridged. 1976. 1 vol. and supplement. Springfield, Mass.
- Weinreich, U. 1953. *Languages in contact*. New York.
- . 1954. Is a structural dialectology possible? *Word* 10.388-400.
- Weiss, R. 1961. The method of Ben Yehuda in his neologisms. *Leshonenu La-Am* 12.199-206, 232-240.
- Whiteley, W. 1969. *Swahili: the rise of a national language*. London.
- (ed.). 1971. *Language use and social change: problems of multilingualism with special reference to Eastern Africa*. Studies presented and discussed at the 9th International African Seminar at University College, Dar es Salaam, Dec. 1968. London.
- Wolff, H. 1959. Intelligibility and inter-ethnic attitudes. *Anthropological Linguistics* 1.3.34-41.
- Wurm, S.A. 1968. Papua-New Guinea nationhood; the problem of a national language. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 345-363.
- Yoke, H.P. 1967. *The birth of modern science in China*. Kuala Lumpur.
- Zahan, D. 1950. Pictographic writing in the Western Sudan. *Man* 1.136-138.
- Zannoni, G.B. 1845. *Storia dell'Accademia della Crusca*. Florence.
- Zengel, M.S. 1962. Literacy as a factor in language change. *American Anthropologist* 64.132-139.
- Zima, P. 1968. Hausa in West Africa: remarks on contemporary role and functions. In Fishman et al. (eds.) 1968: 365-377.